The Surara and Pakidai, Two Yanoama Tribes in Northwest Brazil

[Die Surára und Pakidái, zwei Yanonámi-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien]

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[Title page]

Foreword

114
101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†),

/V cont./

114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindenberg.

122 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the
123 Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and
indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones
who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking.
[115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawõ
and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ (see p. 258), and
the Pakidái chief Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ deserve
special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emílio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch
122 in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it
possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to
alleviate my own sufferings.

/VI cont./

000 I thank my friend and colleague, Dr. Dall'Igna Rodrigues, for important suggestions given to me in connection with completing this monograph and for the appendix of comparative linguistic material /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/.

I am also deeply grateful to my co-workers at the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, who contributed so much to the fashioning of the present work. They are Herr Dr. Herbert Tischner, who helped me with advice and experience in the printing, Fräulein Dascha Detering, who made the drawings and the map with great care and who independently worked out the textile techniques presented in this work; also Herr Hans Cantzler, who photographed a number of objects and made enlargements of my photographs.

In conclusion I should like to thank Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Freudenthal and my wife for their tireless help in reading proof, and the printing firm J. J. Augustin for their excellent technical work on the present book.

126 The ethnographic collections are in the possession of the Museu Paulista, São Paulo, and the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. All the inventory numbers in the index of figures and illustrations are those of the specimens in the Hamburg Museum.

Hamburg, Christmas 1959. Hans Becher

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Surára
Pakidái

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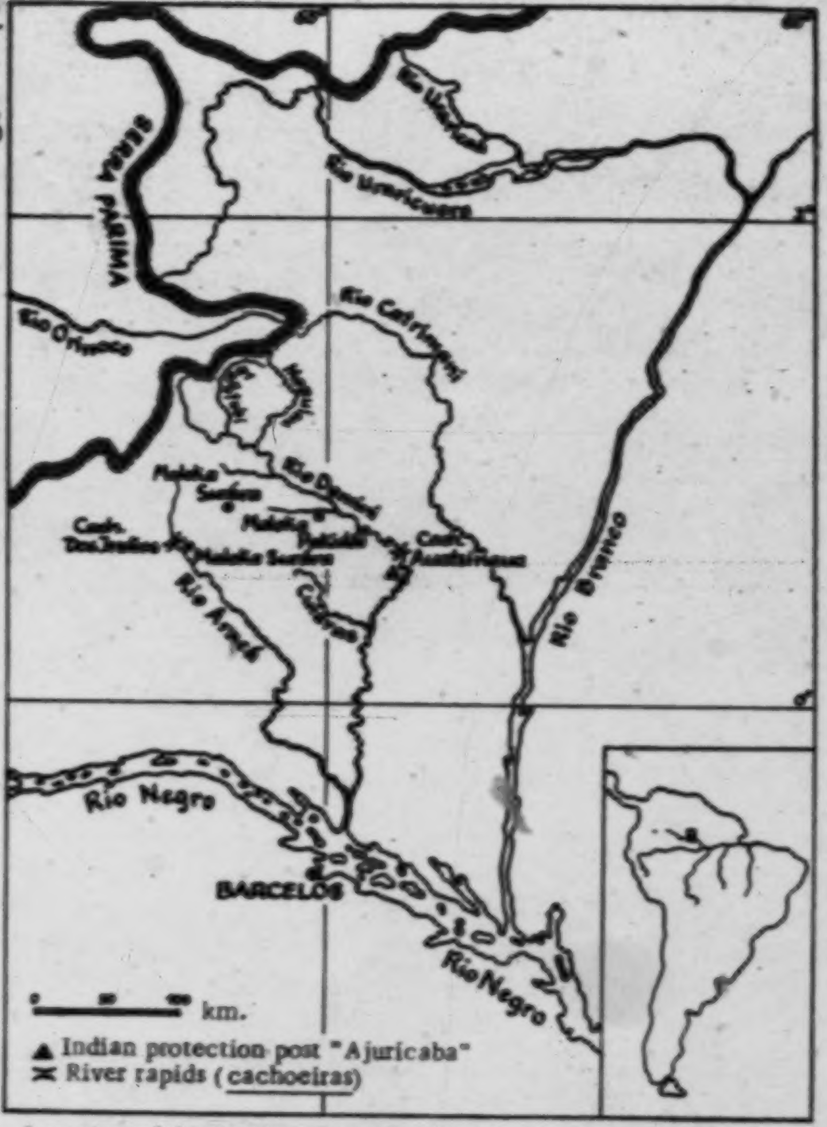
133


SERRA PARIMA
Rio Uraricoera
Rio Orinoco
Rio Catrimani
Rio Demini
Cach.
Cach.
Rio Aracá
Rio Branco
Rio Negro
BARCELOS
Rio Negro
0 50 100 km.
▲ Indian protection post "Ajuricaba"
✕ River rapids (cachoeiras)

Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

Surára
Pakidái

I. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro.
Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan
border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former
capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is
133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its
134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower
Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the
other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity
is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography
of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous
terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy
region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken
it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and
133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even
136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier
than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes.
Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably
smaller numbers along black water than along white.
On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small
piuns (*Simulium* sp., day gnats) and the large *carapanãs* (*Anopheles*);
~~the latter~~ are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course
and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the *igapós* (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/1 cont./

137 most important useful plants along the middle course of the Demini are the seringueiras (rubber trees -- Hevea brasiliensis Muell. Arg.), and along the Aracá and its tributaries the piaçaba palms (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.). The chestnut forests that occur in the area around the mouth of the Demini and on the lower course of the Aracá also have economic significance. The chestnut, or more precisely, the chestnut of Pará (Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K. -- its fruits are known in Germany as Pará nuts), is regarded as the queen of the Amazonian primeval forests on account of its tall crown, with which it towers over all the other trees. On the lower Aracá the itaúba tree (Silvia itaiúba Pax.) is of special importance because it furnishes the best lumber in that region. Finally, a few other species of trees and palms, which occur along the Demini as well as along the Aracá, should be mentioned:

a) Trees: imbauba (Cecropia palmata Wild.), angelin-amargoso (Andira vermifuga Mart.), maçaranduba (Mimusops sp.), embireira (Anonaceae sp.), matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), taxizeiro (Cesalpenaceae sp.), ingàzeiro (Inga sp.), abiurana (Lucuma sp.), cajueiro (Anacardium sp.), lucuma (Lucuma /2/ macrocarpa Hub.), wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.), wild lemon tree (Rubiacea sp.), and cedars (Meliaceae sp.).

b) Palms: açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), buçu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), patauá (Oenocarpus bataua Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.), and ubim (Geonoma sp.).

133 The two rivers have many bends and during the summer months, October to March, flow relatively sluggishly. Their water level during this time is extremely low, so that numerous sandbanks [134] stand out. On the Demini the color of the sand is yellowish, whereas on the Aracá it is gleaming white. The average width of the Demini along its lower and middle course is 200-300 meters,

/2 cont./
133 that of the Aracá 300-400 meters. This may be why, on old maps,
the Aracá is erroneously designated as the main river; the course of
the Demini, however, is considerably longer. In the middle and
upper courses of the aforementioned rivers there are rapids, the
crossing of which often endangers life.

The area lying between the rivers represents one of those
inselberg landscapes which are so characteristic for the region
133 of the middle and upper Rio Negro. Cone-, dome-, or ridge-
137 shaped granite mountains which individually or occasionally in
groups rise up to 400 meters in the form of small massifs or
short mountain chains offer a conspicuous contrast to the plain
covered with dense primeval forest. Their relatively flat peaks
and the gently sloping alluvial cones at the foot are likewise
133 densely forested. At the middle height, however, there appear
steep, smooth granite walls looking fluted because of the many
rain furrows.

Morphologically these elevations belong to a type which Passarge discusses in his Kalahari work (1) and elsewhere (2) and which he has defined, following Bornhardt, as inselberge. These granite mountains in the Rio Negro region have already been strikingly described by Spruce (3). According to Brandt, who dealt in detail with the morphogenesis of isolated granite mountains, their cone-shaped appearance may be traced back to a "peeling process" of periclinal granite folds (4).

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1. Passarge, 1904a.

2. Passarge, 1904b.

3. Spruce, 1908, p. 383.

4. Brandt, 1917, pp. 52 ff.

Surára
Pakidái

/2 cont./

132 [164] Because of the nearness of the equator, it is very hot, humid, and oppressive in this region, yet not unbearable. For, on account of the high moisture content of the air, there is, for example, no heat prostration and no sunstroke here. One can also sleep quite well at night, since the temperature then drops several degrees and is accompanied by a refreshing breeze. During the day the temperature of the air comes to 32-36° and at night 24-28°, whereas that of the water is usually between 29-32°.

136 As a result of the scarcity of human beings that prevails here, there are a great many wild animals and birds in the forests, in addition to the abundance of water turtles, caymans, and fish in the rivers, several species of which will be enumerated in the following:

a) Mammals: spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.), black jaguar (Panthera onca L.), puma (Felis concolor), maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.), tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.), deer (Cervidae sp.), wild pig (Pecari tajacu), capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) paca (Cuniculus paca L.), cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.), armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.), sloth (Bradypus sp.), ant bear (Myrmecophaga sp.) monkeys, such as the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.), cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.), cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.), macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus), etc., sea cow (Trichechus inunguis Desmaret), etc.

b) Birds: mutum (Crax sp.), urumutum (Crax sp.), mutum-cavalo (Mitu mitu L.), jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.), jacu (Penelope sp.), japim (Cacicus cela L.), inambu (Crypturellus sp.), inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.), toucan (Rhamphastus /3/ sp.), arara vermelha (Ara macao L.), arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), papagaio curica (Amazona sp.), garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm.), gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.), urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.), etc.

c) Water turtles: tracajá (Emys sp.), cabeçuda (Podocnemis dumeriliana), etc.

d) Land turtles: jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.), etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/3 cont./

136 e) Caymans: jacaretinga or jacaré-de-óculos (Caiman sclerpos Schneid.), etc.

f) Fish: aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), pirarucu (largest fresh-water fish, reaches a length of over three meters; belongs to the family of the bone-tongues (Osteoglossidae). The hard tongue serves as a grater for Indians and whites), piraíba (Brachyplatystoma filamentosa), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujá (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiúcuiú (Oxidor[illegible] niger Vall.), etc.

There are also snakes in large numbers:

a) Nonpoisonous snakes: sucuriju (Eunectes murinus), jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris), etc.

b) Poisonous snakes: surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), cascavel (Crotalus terrificus terrificus), jararaca (Lachesis sp.), jararacussu (Bothrops jararacussu Lacerda), cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.), etc.

II. The Civilized Inhabitants of the Demini-Aracá Region

162 In the case of the civilized population, which lives along the lower and middle course, there is a mixture of Indians, whites, Negroes, and mulattoes who make a living as rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, woodcutters, fishermen, and planters.

Rubber gatherers work exclusively in the Demini river basin, palm-fiber gatherers and woodcutters only in the Aracá region. Planters, fishermen, and a few ambulant traders may be found on terra firma along both rivers. While the rubber gatherers on the Demini live in families far apart from one another, the distances are 10-20 kilometers and more, the woodcutters and palm-fiber gatherers along the Aracá have joined together in small settlements.

Surára
Pakidái

/3 cont./

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On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
178 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
162 The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large number of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

Surára
pakidái

/4 cont./

648 The last hut of a rubber gatherer stands one day's journey from the Indian protection post, while the post itself represents the last station of civilization. Above it the territory of the Indians begins. Here, numerous tribes hitherto entirely unknown to science still live as they did before the period of discovery. They are very warlike, so there are often bloody conflicts between them. Their malokas are usually far from the riverbank, deep in the interior of the virgin forests. Occasionally some of them visit the post in order to get gifts, that is, knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc. They never come in contact with the civilized population on the Demini.

The personnel of the post consists of 12 men, among them several pure-blooded, civilized Tukano /Tucano/ Indians, who lead here a hard and dangerous life full of privations. Before they entered the Indian protection service, they had to pledge themselves, in their association with the free Indians, always to observe the following motto which was set up by the founder of this magnificent organization, Marshall Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon: "Morrer se preciso fôr, matar nunca!" ("Die if necessary, never kill!"). Their only connections with the outside world are a radio station and the motor boat of the Inspetoria des Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Manaus, which once or twice a year brings them food supplies and commodities, as well as gifts for the Indians.

Besides attending to Indian visitors, the post personnel must also see to it that the members of free Indian tribes are not exploited and badly treated by the undesirable elements of civilization, in the form of gold-seekers and other adventurers. The protection of all free Forest Indians is legally anchored in Brazil. Accordingly, no civilized person may seek out Indian tribes without permission from the management of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro (5a). Thus, the posts represent police

5a. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios is a division of the Ministério da Agricultura.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

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III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriâna /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment [797] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North American missionaries who have been in touch with the

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114 [997] aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). Moreover one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xiriána and Waiká groups (8).

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view, only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "*mal connus et redoutés*" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

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648

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

8. Vinci, 1956.

9. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 255.

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

Surára
Karimé

/5 cont./

114
648

11. (cont.)
hostile attitude toward the whites as well as toward neighboring Indians. Since the rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, etc. on the Demini, Aracá, and the other rivers usually do not advance beyond the middle course, to say nothing of visiting the regions away from the rivers, the Indians only rarely feel disturbed in their territory. The incidents mentioned below, however, which have taken place there within the last 30 years, confirm that hostility on the part of a few tribes continues and may at any time lead to new acts of violence:

1928: Surára Indians, in an attack on a settlement of palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá, abducted two white women and a girl.

1942: Jaú Indians shot at the Brazilian-Venezuelan border commission on the upper Demini and forced it to turn back; two members of the commission were seriously wounded by arrow shots.

1945: Five American officers were killed by arrow shots by the Aimirí Indians on the Rio Jauaperi. They had gone up the river in a motor boat in order to take motion pictures of Indians there. The Brazilian guide, who was the only one to escape, later said that the Indians disliked the whirring of the camera and had several times urged the Americans to go back.

1946: The Aimirí Indians attacked the Indian protection post on the Rio Jauaperi and killed ten men of the personnel.

114 former, with regard to the Karimé Indians living on the upper course of the Catrimani, gives a brief sketch of their material

Karime
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriána (Shiriana) and Waiká (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

101 114 127 On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)

14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriána (Schirianá) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waiká (Waíka) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456; 1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/6 cont./

114
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[127]
from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

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21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waíka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Pusehewelerí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.

114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriána (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waîka) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriána, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

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[115] In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief, according to which there are two powerful tribes within the "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriána, who call themselves "Haraterí," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114] chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriána and occasionally

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25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

28. With regard to the Xiriána, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

Surara
Pakidâi

101 /6 cont./

61 obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, ham-
[438 mocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

[323]
[411]
[362]

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xiriána.

/7/

IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

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Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area "surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

114 103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

174 114 103 With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" = river, water. 172 323 This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

34b. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

Shiriana

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state. 174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waiká (36). Elsewhere the same investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuêra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianá and Waíka" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracá region.

114 131 174 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38), Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

173 115 [31] /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waiká,

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36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

/8 cont./

173 115 however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waiká tribe [648] in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, 000 just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

[114) 40. Holdridge visited the Xiriána here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

114 174 101 41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriána (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriána, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriána adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriána, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriána" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianá" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

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101

41. (cont.)
pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

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In 1939, the Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

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As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriána, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

Surára
Shiriana

/8 cont./

175 648 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six [439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives, [115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits [619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

/9 cont./
114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating
several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái
are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are
only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a
protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
291 always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve
as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are
not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons
who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the
great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

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42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

Surára,
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waiká (Guaicas) and Guaharibo. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guaharibos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guaharibos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas

44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waiká (Waíka) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianá and Waíka of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 142 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive.
[291] [411] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick"
114 141 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be mentioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waiká, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 142 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriána, and Waiká (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

Surára
Pakidái

/10 cont./

114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

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VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-
[824] work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves
are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against
the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot
[352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened
[354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center;
In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

Surára
Pakidai

/11 cont./

342 114 [184] Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. 361 114 In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. [622] The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

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49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered
with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north
of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths
[342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten
of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwell-
ing seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remain-
ing fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's
[241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid
out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet
[221] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every
year between the months of October and December. In the
[156] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are al-
ways trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief
and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain
ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and
about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco
(Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which
has not been documented up to now for South American Indians.
During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái
jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house
form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which
serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above
clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as
a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area.
The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of
the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's
rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters,
6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead
toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is
only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside
the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

Surára
Pakidái

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-
hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the
interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular inter-
vals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller
posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear
posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two
[824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves
for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centi-
meters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a
windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut
described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large wind-
screens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about
seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters.
[824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are
[171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-
fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves
as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five
years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá
area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are
80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters
[461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four
to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and
at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has
gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in
the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance
he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either
side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with
lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one
another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the
Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the inter-
spaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite
side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text continues on p. 28]

Surára
Pakidái

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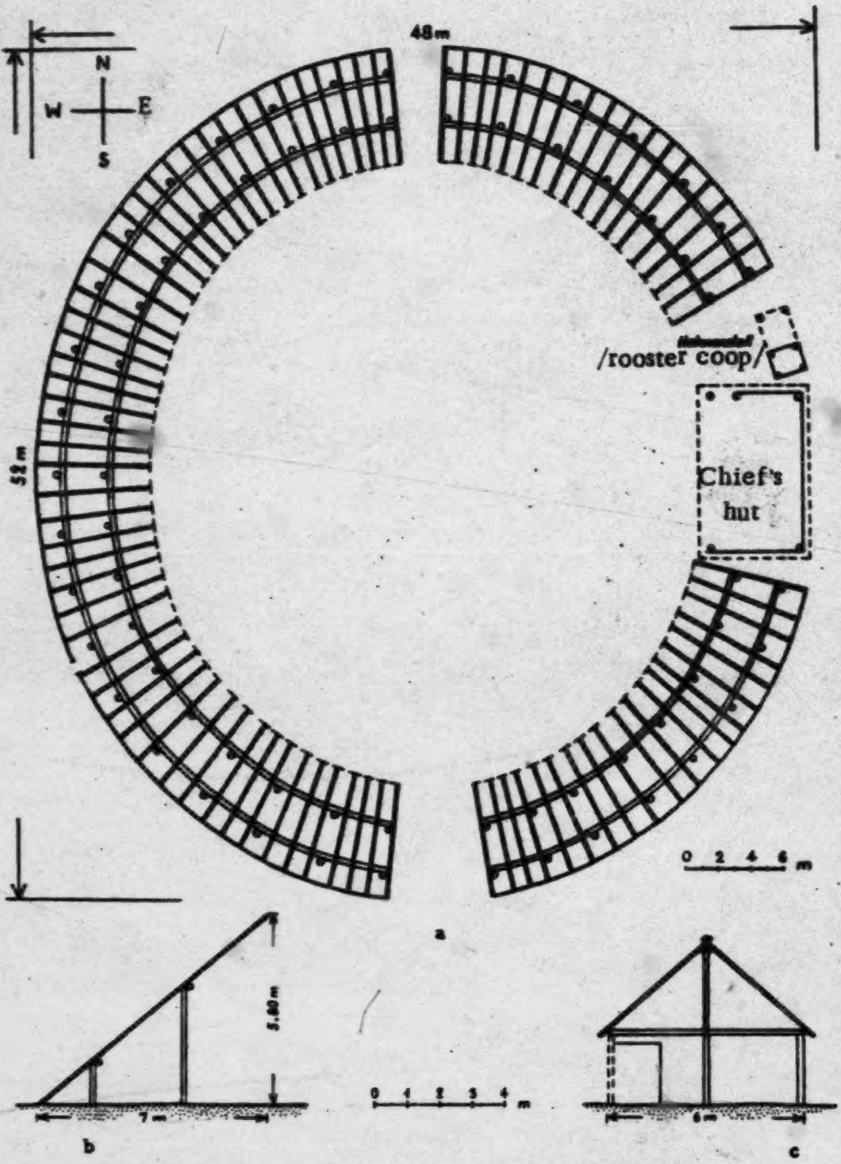
48m
N
W
E
S
52 m
/rooster coop/
Chief's hut
0 2 4 6 m
a
5.60 m
7 m
b
0 1 2 3 4 m
6 m
c

Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

Surára
Pakidâi

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one [482] stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his *maloka*. [481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 285 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the *paxiúba* palm (*Iriartea exorrhiza* Mart.) 60-100 *ubim* leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the *paxiúba* stem, while the long stem of the *ubim* leaf projects beyond it. Each *ubim* leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long *ubim* stem is bent, wrapped around the *paxiúba* stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the *paxiúba* stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a *pano* (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight 342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these *panos* /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the
other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters.
In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife
always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife
and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at
most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50
centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or
was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the
past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem,
similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on
the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward
the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is
9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the
same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand
four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four
smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

Surára
Pakidái

/14 cont./

342 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips
622 lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over
this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in
the case of the large windscreens, the *panos*, the rectangular
palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear
wall and the two side-walls are also provided with *panos*. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three
poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places.
The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand
[354] narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a
[352] triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief,
his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang
[353] on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with *panos* made of *ubim* leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular
construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop
for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents
an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot,
tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the
dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly
fresh air, so that even upon leaving this *maloka* there is no danger
of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed *malokas* are
much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the
warm community house and step out into the cool morning or
[174] night air. This *maloka* of the Surára may doubtless be regarded
as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of
241 the South American Indians. Around the community house,
plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

/15/

342 As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the
184 upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular *maloka* ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xiriâna. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

361 The construction, as in the case of the open *maloka*, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of
313 the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the *maloka* is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the *terçados* (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men,
342 marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces. [824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one [622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 171 114 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

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54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont. /

342 In th[illegible] building method described by me, however, the
174 circular gr[illegible]d-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in complete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and
therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they
modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually
developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof
represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts
of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction
of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy,
however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten
meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 825 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the
Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered
to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini
and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there
are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses
of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness
and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the
case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

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57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

Surára
Pakidai

/16 cont./

484 491 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side 499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. [illegible]cure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 491 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians, [481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

[114] [141] 59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

Surara
Pakidai
Sanema

491 These bridges are nothing new, for they were already
499 mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the
184 Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a footbridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one
491 as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62) and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

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60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

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61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

Surára
Pakidái

/17 cont./
600 and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

411 3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidâi, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xeréka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and terçado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which
[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

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63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

[439] 65. They obtain these objects by barter with piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 *curatella* (*Cecropia peltata*), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.

824 The bowstring -- *penahitábe* --, which consists of three
411 strands of *curauá* (*Bromeliaceae*) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to
tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes
it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while
the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).
According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semicircular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
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114 tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

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66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

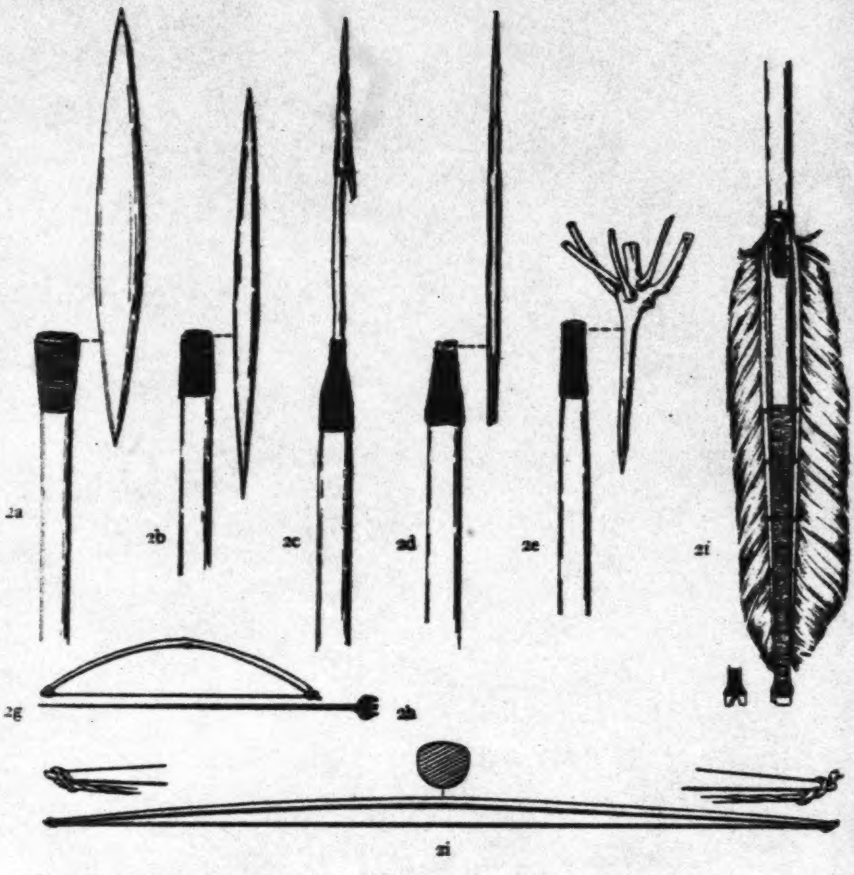

Fig. 2a. Wide, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2b. Narrow, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2c. Arrow-point with barb.
Fig. 2d. Wooden arrow-point with coating of poison.
Fig. 2e. Forked wooden arrow-point.
Fig. 2f. Arrow feathering.
Fig. 2g. Boy's bow.
Fig. 2h. Boy's arrow.
Fig. 2i. Bow with cross-section and string fastening.

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Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

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[173]
almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidâi, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriâna. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriâna demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriâna bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12. 25:29, 12. 25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1. 92 and 1. 82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatâri of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidâi one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatâri are likewise satellites of the Xiriâna (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waikâ in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

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The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2. 12 meters (shaft length 1. 89-1. 94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]
71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas [249] on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five [824] of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering -- [234] jaromahík --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the [283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

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114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xiriána, and it can also be recognized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

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73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára,
Pakidái,
Xamatari
Karime

/19 cont./

411 184 114 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found among the Karimé (76).

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver. [531] [283]

411 184 114 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, 6.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.) [531]

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76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidai

/20 cont./

411 184 114 [283] The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surâra, Pakidâi, Karimé, and Xamatâri, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surâra and Pakidâi, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waikâ by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surâra, Pakidâi, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

411 171 How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

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79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

/20 cont./

411 [171] Métraux (83).

[283] [824] 2. *Rahaká* -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the *kantaná* (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and *cutias* (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

[237] [283] [314] 3. *Kantarím* -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the *cuatá* (*Ateles paniscus* L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

411 114 [171] According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá [184] /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

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83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára, Pakidái

/20 cont./

411 114 184 and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriána arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 [824] 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15 centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

[224] 5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surára and Pakidái informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411 184 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are the Xiriána (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

Surára
Pakidái

/21 cont./

411 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg
184 Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows:
171 "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is com-
114 monly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known
[439] to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for
411 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-
171 tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

According to what my Surára informants reported to me,
[192] they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokórimaunápe.
[184] This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

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95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/*21* cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- *patemá*. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- *tototó* -- (*Strychnos toxifera*) is used.

[415] [413] [415] 824 As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- *kanabó* --, which are made out of the leaves of the *açaí* palm (*Euterpe oleracea* Mart.) and sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 438 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /*22*/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- *epená* -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

/22 cont./

411 Boys' bow:

524 The boys' bow -- hauoá -- is 80-90 centimeters long and
[824] consists of a curved branch of the paioôrimá tree, which also
furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of
all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an un-
symmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

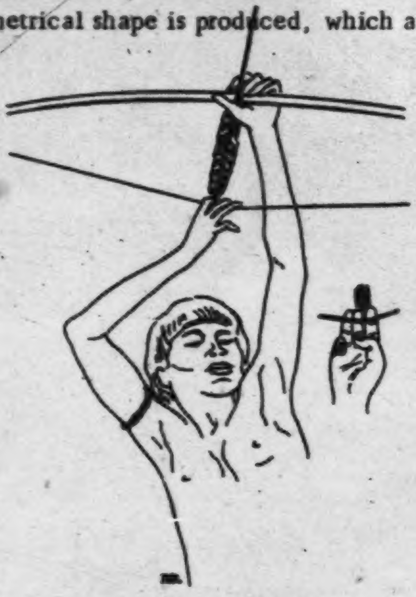

Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely
283] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and
[824] set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a
liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] Ruhumaçík is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters
[824] long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the
[237] inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feather-
[283] ing -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers,
which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of
[192] an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly
pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimaçikenâme.

Surara
Pakidái

/22 cont./

411
[482]
In the forest the Surâra and Pakidâi as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

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100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 171 114 the few that are available are not the type from which rules could be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawö, the Surára man Brakaiwö, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwö. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

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103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./
411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian
[114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures
[756] of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411
173 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would
411 174 resent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waiká, Zerries re-
ports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked
173 even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged
411 726 only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

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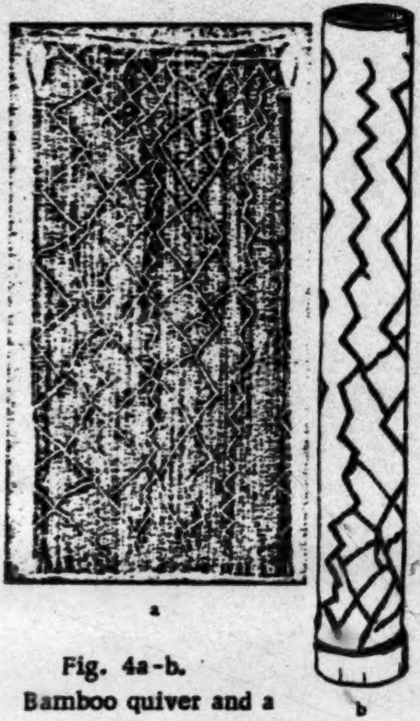

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a
rubbing of the incised
design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the
wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled,
which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.
111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- 411 578 171 hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114); they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the 411 184 Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels between the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [561] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrowpoints wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

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112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

411 482 /24 cont./
lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 184 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way are also found among the Waiká, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

372

4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohík -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehík -- and two drilling sticks -- [824] [184] ihirupehík (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the wild cacao tree -- porôroá -- exactly as among the Waiká (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 114 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about [411] quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

372 411 184 114

119. That it is well-known among the Xamatári, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
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119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

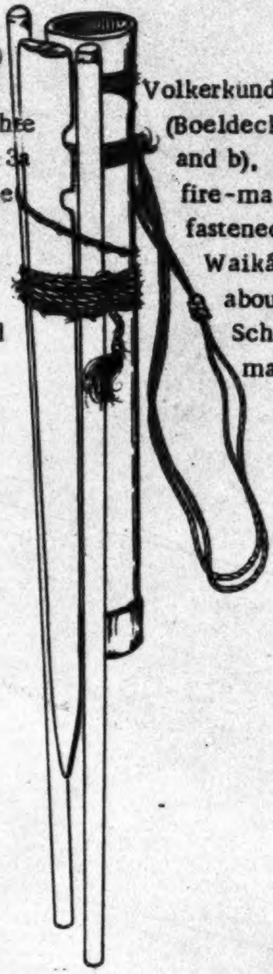

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his [412] [237] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (see P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

372 (see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he [171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171] 121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171] 122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

Surára
Pakidái

/26 cont./

283
[171]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarí --, starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- ruhũ -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobaná -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread. [321] [322] [462] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the center of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

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171 From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaírí /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaírí spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

/26 cont./

283
171 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
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124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283
123 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[170] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

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437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriána (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekuná-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283
174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriána. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always

[171]
[114] twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 171 174 114 it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

283 184 174 114 Within the Yanonâmi group, cotton and spinning are known, in addition to the Xiriâna, Surâra, and Pakidâi, also to the Puseheweterî, Aramamesterî, and Karauaterî, members of whom I met in the malokas of the Surâra and Pakidâi, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waikâ, who, according to Schuster, presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Suraya
Pakidai

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

[824] [283] From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. [292] Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. [689] Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

[171] [482]

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

Surára
Pakidai

/28 cont./

291 [171] [482] 137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

291 114 [171] I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

291 114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

[833] Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291 184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauaterí girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 184 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to a statement of the last-named author, the Xiriâna too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 171 184 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanonámi the membrum is tied up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150), 291 171 174

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./
291 171 174 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81; II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 [192] On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however,. must make their own.

[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

292 284 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

Surára,
Pakidái

/29 cont./

292
284 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure

[531]
[386] (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After they are finished, serpentine lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used: often, however, they are colored red all over.

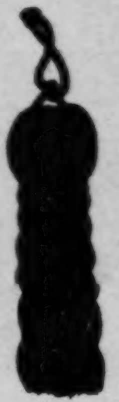

Fig. 6a
Men's belt,
detail.

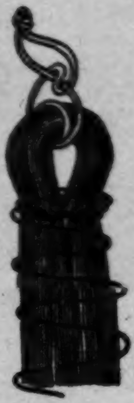

Fig. 6b
Men's belt,
diagram.

292
184 Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái

/30 cont./

292
284

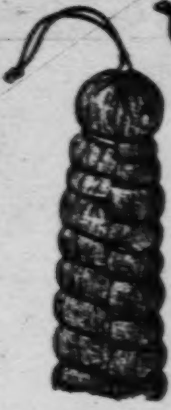

Fig. 7a
Young men's
belt, detail.

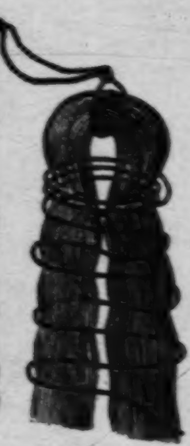

Fig. 7b
Young men's belt,
diagram.

Among the Surára and Pakidái, besides the men's and boys' belts, there is another special kind for young men, made with a plaiting technique. They are started in the manner described above, but after the layer of cotton is obtained, it is divided into two equally thick bundles which are tightly wound, alternately, at intervals of 1-1.5 centimeters. The belt therefore consists of two adjacent thin rolls of cotton, each two centimeters in diameter (Fig. 7a and b). Tie-strings and the wearing style correspond to the men's and boys' belts, as does the painting.

Women's and girls' belts are characterized by a wide, flat shape. The lengths vary between 55-70 centimeters and the widths between 6-8 centimeters for women's belts and 35-46 centimeters and 4-5 centimeters, respectively, for girls' belts. In making them, again two sticks are used, around which the cotton threads are wound. The resultant layer is divided into 6-8 equally thick bundles, each of which is wound with a cotton thread in the manner shown in Fig. 8a-c, and in this way the bunches of warp threads are held together. In other words, the longitudinal threads are held side by side by means of cross-bindings. The distance between these weft--threads is 2.5-3 centimeters for the belts of young women and

Surára
Pakidái
Pusheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
292 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
531 as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
[386] side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to
paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines,
occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too
the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig.
9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are
colored red all over.

292 Xirifna women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára,
Nikeromí, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 ap-
pear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me
the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and
Pakidái word.

292 The Pusheweterí women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192] 70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-
26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to
90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-
string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first
string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second
hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front
end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so
forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and,
to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
531
184

[text continues on p. 69]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

292
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Fig. 8a-b. Part of a women's belt.

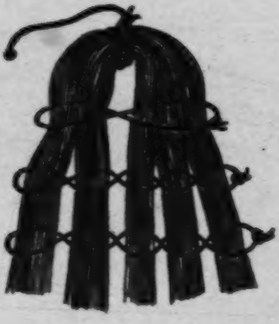

Fig. 8c. Part of a women's belt, diagram.

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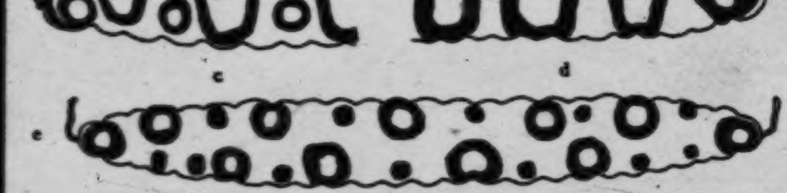

Fig. 9a-e. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts.

Pusehewe-terí
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

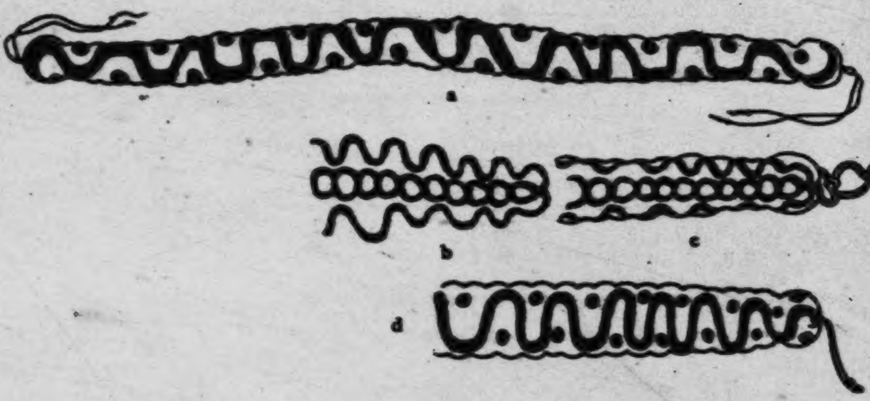

Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts,
including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweterí women usually adorn
531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
237 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and anambé azul (Cotinga
184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweterí women, on the
other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight
to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side,
which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft
jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292
184 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweterí sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Puseheweterí
surára

/32 cont./

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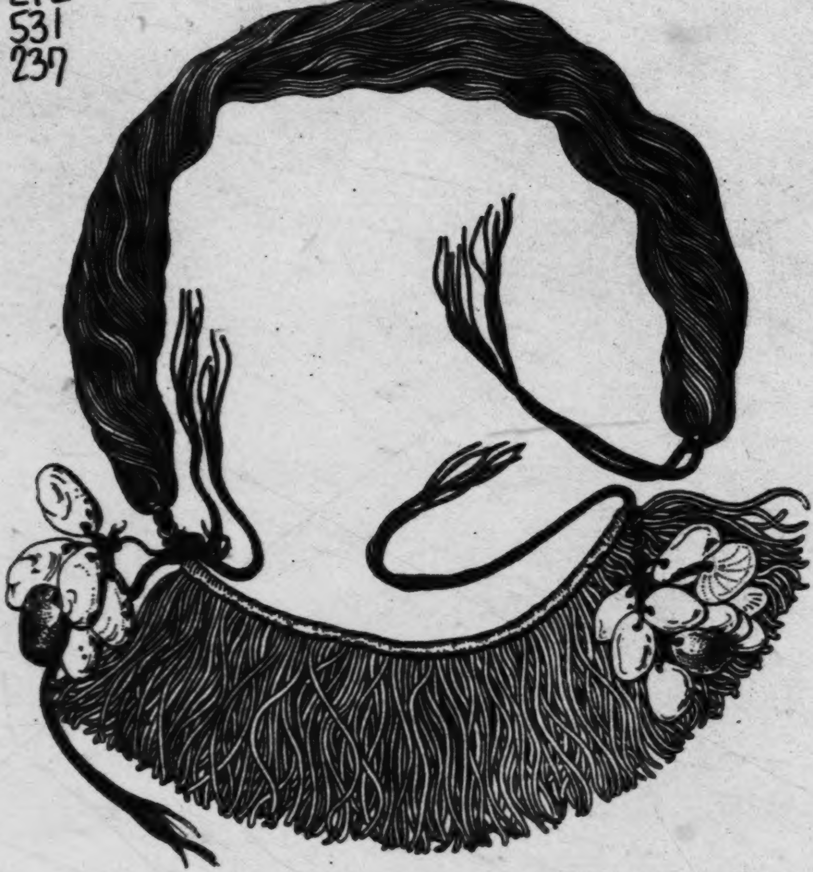

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweterí woman, with pierced mussel shells.

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[462]
[237]
[284]

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaokë -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaõ. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

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237

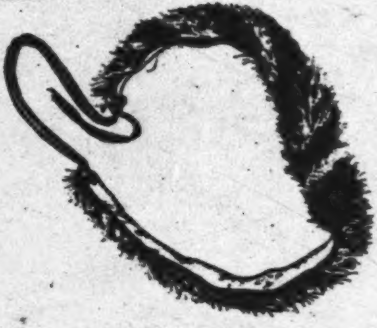

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

000 promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

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From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriána and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriána men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

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163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

Surara
Pakidai

/34 cont./

292
171

mentioned by Martius (166), Richard Schomburgk (167), and Koch-Grünberg (168). Ule, shows in an illustration of two Arekuná men, shows how it is worn (169). It can be seen there that they use the belt for fastening their pubic apron, to which Appun likewise calls attention (170). Moreover, the cotton string-belt is documented for the male Makuxí /Macusi/ (171) and for the Maionkong /Maioncon/, where it is worn by men (172) and women (173).

166. Martius, 1867, pp. 622/23.

167. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, p. 239.

168. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 41.

169. Ule, 1913, p. 283, Ill. 2.

170. Appun, 1871, II, p. 307.

171. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 77.

172. Rice, 1928, p. 220, illustration.

173. Stevens, 1926, p. 401, illustration.

The plaited, wide, flat women's belt of the Surára and Pakidái, however, also has its prototype among the Makuxí, where, to be sure, men wear it. Roth describes how it is made as follows: "The Makusi will plait a thick cotton cord upon two arrow thicks, and when completed will bend it twice upon itself in three equal parts and, by sewing, maintain it in this position to form what is now a broad flat belt" /cited in English/ (174).

174. Roth, 1924, p. 440.

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/), moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

648 177 Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

177 291 174 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Pusehewetarí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). 292 171 According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

292 /35 cont./ when Koch-Grünberg saw
174
177
Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Puseheweterí reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

291 With regard to the way they
292
174
were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic aprons, etc.)" (184) (185).

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181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.

185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

Surára
Pakidái

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Xiriána, and Karauaterí. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it
291 has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers
123 which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waiká (186) (187), in that they are open in front
[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

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186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

Surára
Pakidái

/35 cont./
292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,
by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the
pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this
hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the
naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them,
but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among
the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed
to have led to the development of the types of belts. As
evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women
never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and
small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest
mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought
291 123 me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára
and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among
men as well as among women and children, but they always untied
their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange
292 184 for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterí women,
which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say,
a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they
also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the
skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that
in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution
of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

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189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

Surára
Pakidái

291 171 /36 cont./
been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

b) Chest cords

301 [192] The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back -- xinaríke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195) represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] [824] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women. 386 301 [531] [302] Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 856 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

301 /36 cont./Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string
292 bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion
of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and
insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and
Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains
why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for
women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of
white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in
many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from
the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ
from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they
are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is
a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed
after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been
borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former
is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the
enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be
deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even
men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

/37 cont./

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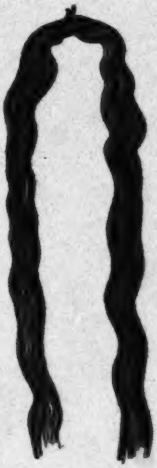
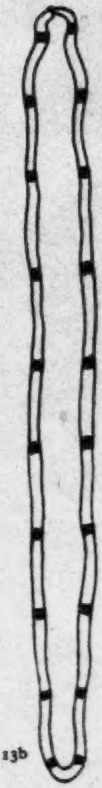


13a



13b

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also [283] definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber. [824 856]

Surára
Pakidái

/37 cont./

301 856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariũnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used only by women and girls, likewise called xinariũnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuá -- the legs.

301 171 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the simple cord, bands of string -- nyöθmutimá -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

[192] 198. It is noteworthy that the curauá-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariũnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

[192] 199. In the word -- nyöθmutimá -- there is contained the name for belt, nyö, to which is appended the diminutive form θmutimá.

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/38 cont./

301 [438] 200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyöômutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301 184 The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women, including the captive Karauaterí girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

[284]

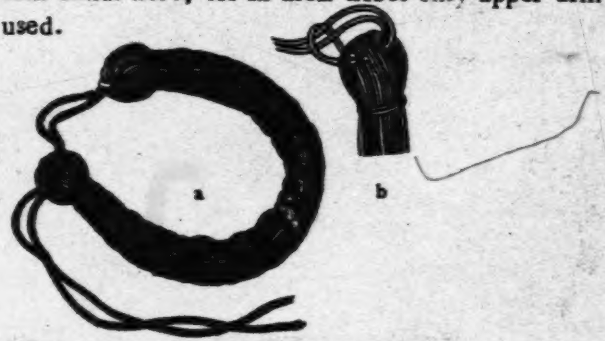


Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

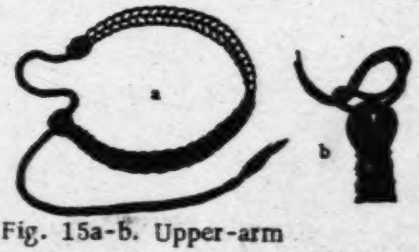


Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

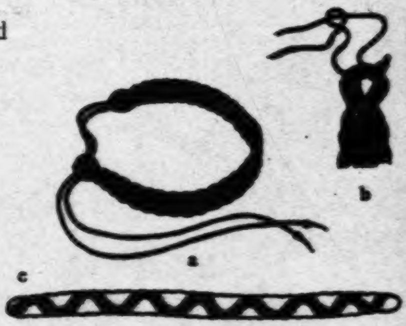


Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

Shiriang

/38 cont./

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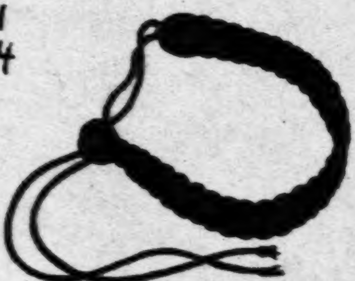

Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band
of the women.

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According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriána (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

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201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

Surara.
Pakidai

/39 cont./

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171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

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832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

[824] Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

[462] Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemôno. Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

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205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

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593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise
choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People
with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape
head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a
long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
171 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco,
for the members of both sexes of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí,
Aramamesterí, and Karauaterí whom I met also wore it (206).

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206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Borôro, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

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184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waiká (207) (208), Karime (209), and the Xiriána men on the Motomotó (210). With regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same
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171 work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakeká -- (Surára), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahá --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehá.

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301 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

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207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 301 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament. [314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters long, respectively. [184] Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe. [184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí.

301 422 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 301 184 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes, abundant comparative and supplementary material is available [171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower [127] lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

/41 cont. /

304 301 184 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xiriána. For the male and female Waiká, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonámi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 301 171 With reference to the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are entirely absent. 301 171 In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surára and Pakidái (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270 /. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xiriána were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

301 M/ did not make them themselves either, for they were made, by pounding and grinding, out of Brazilian silver coins which are no longer in circulation today. Moreover, for centuries the technical skill of the Karaiben with regard to gold, silver, and copper ornaments has been acclaimed. For example, Gumilla already mentions Karaiben tribes in the vicinity of the Orinoco who wore homemade plates of gold (217), and, according to de Rochefort, the Island Karaiben used ear pendants of gleaming copper (218). Crescent-shaped silver leaf is used by the Makuxí men, but they wear it on a nose rod (219).

Further comparative material is to be found in the valuable work by Brigitte Menzel, "Deformierender Gesichtschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Deforming Facial Ornaments of South American Primitive Peoples/." Here it was shown that ear ornaments of metal occur especially frequently in northwest Amazonas as well as Guiana (220), and also ear ornaments of teeth are confirmed in considerable quantity for the highlands of Guiana (221).

With reference to the ornamentation of the corners of the mouth, the authoress writes: "From an accumulation in the source region of the Ucayali, the evidence extends over northwest Amazonas

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217. Gumilla, 1745, I, p. 139.

218. de Rochefort, 1658, p. 289.

219. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 198, Figs. 2 and 4.

220. Menzel, 1957, p. 38 and Map 14.

221. Menzel, 1957, p. 34.

Surára
Pakidái

/41 cont./
301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing

All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper
[881] lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

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222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

[184] 223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

/42 cont./

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For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxí /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

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There are also slight differences with regard to the time of tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first menstruation, the Arekuná-Taulipang and Makuxí, on the other hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring
824 matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see
386 footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the
412 puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, how-
171 ever, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the
above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

304 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region
174 developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi,
171 Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about
114 by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet,
although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had
the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted
on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however, for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

179 The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

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230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A comprehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- *nará* --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of *Bixa orellana*. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (*Genipa brasiliensis*) -- *uarabá* --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

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232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

/43 cont. /

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriána (Schirianá) (235), it is to be suspected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonámi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

301 /43 cont./

237 Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).

825 Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).

Pauxí paruríhonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).

Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).

Pauxí xeraxeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:

Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí paruríhês -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebêahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhêssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 825 237 [554] Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. 301 825 75 The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 171 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 184 114 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 237 171 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 436 822 j) Bead ornaments

European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South-American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

Surára
Pakidái

/45 cont./

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only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

[171]

> 244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

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They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

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I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

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Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

Surára
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114] 245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) --
yâritanaçík -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may
probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill.
26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips
[284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied
together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the
same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are
very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of
a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears
[462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is
extracrdinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira
[824] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centi-
[284] meters wide, which they tie together in the manner described
above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree
[412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 113). Since the
yâritanaçík is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidái
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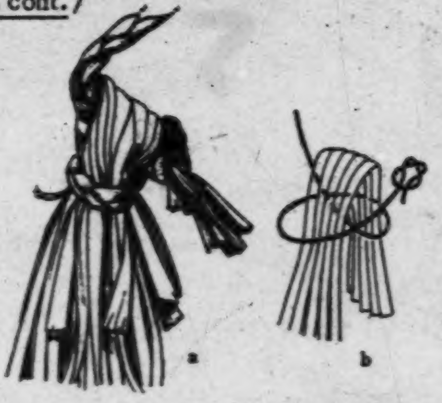

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock. [482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually [513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to fall out.

352 184 [114] Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there, according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriána are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

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Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxí rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

[114] by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352 [192] Instead of the yâritanaçík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokẽ -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between [462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows: 352 284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 7).

352 184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
Pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults. [462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground 286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of [824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because [302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

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258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

/48 cont./

352 According to the classification by Max Schmidt,
286 who differentiates three groups for the plaiting tech-
174 nique in South America, the cotton hammocks made
171 by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

[284)

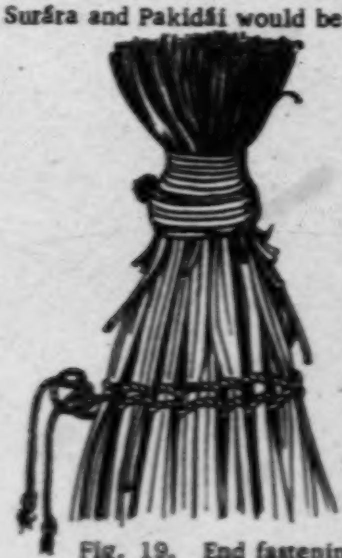

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

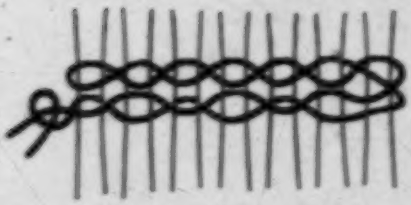

Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is

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259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

Surára
Pakidái
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/48 cont./ From a Photograph taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waiká make their cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression "knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

This cotton hammock of the Waiká, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waiká (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only
462 exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves,
(824) which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of *curauá*, the
making of which falls to the men.

If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest,
[824] they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the
ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the *patauá*, *açai*,
and *ubim* palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm
surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which
makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited
482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy
loads can then be carried with this basket, called *pakokêhe*, above
all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which
the hunter alone cannot carry into the *maloka*. Men always slip
the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer
the forehead for this.

285 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and
171 Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the
Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens, however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

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269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 174 [171] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, [179] who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275). [184]

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuēka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill 34).

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272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

000 which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34). This description comes from Koch-Grünberg, and, to be sure, he is referring to the completely identical women's carrying-baskets of the Xiriána (Schirianá). "In this type of plaiting," says the investigator named, "which is probably peculiar to the Schirianá, the vertical strips running out radially from the common center of the bottom are wound spirally with two finer horizontal strips. A few stronger inner rings to which /50/ the vertical strips are lashed with lianas give the basket shape and support. The ends of the vertical strips are secured under a special overcasting of the rim (Pl. 23, 1). By means of tree-bast strips, to which the bark still adheres, the basket is carried by the forehead on the back" (277). The same technique is used by the Surára and Pakidái, and the initial plaiting of a carrying-basket (Fig. 21) shows this particularly clearly (Ill. 35). This is /Fig. 21 appears here/ /51/ the type of plaiting which Max Schmidt designates as "double-thread plaiting," the second principal type of South American plaiting (278) (279).

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By means of an external feature one can, however, easily distinguish the women's carrying-baskets of the Xiriána from those of the Surára and Pakidái. In the case of the former, the carrying band is fastened only at the edge (280), while the latter always wind it around the bottom, then lead it through two twisted liana-loops on the lower third as well as on the upper edge, and then knot it on one side (Ill. 34). This gives the wearers a better

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277. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 307/08.

278. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

279. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

280. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Pl. 23, 1.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

/51 cont./

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hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improvement could have been developed by the Surára and Pakidái women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriána.

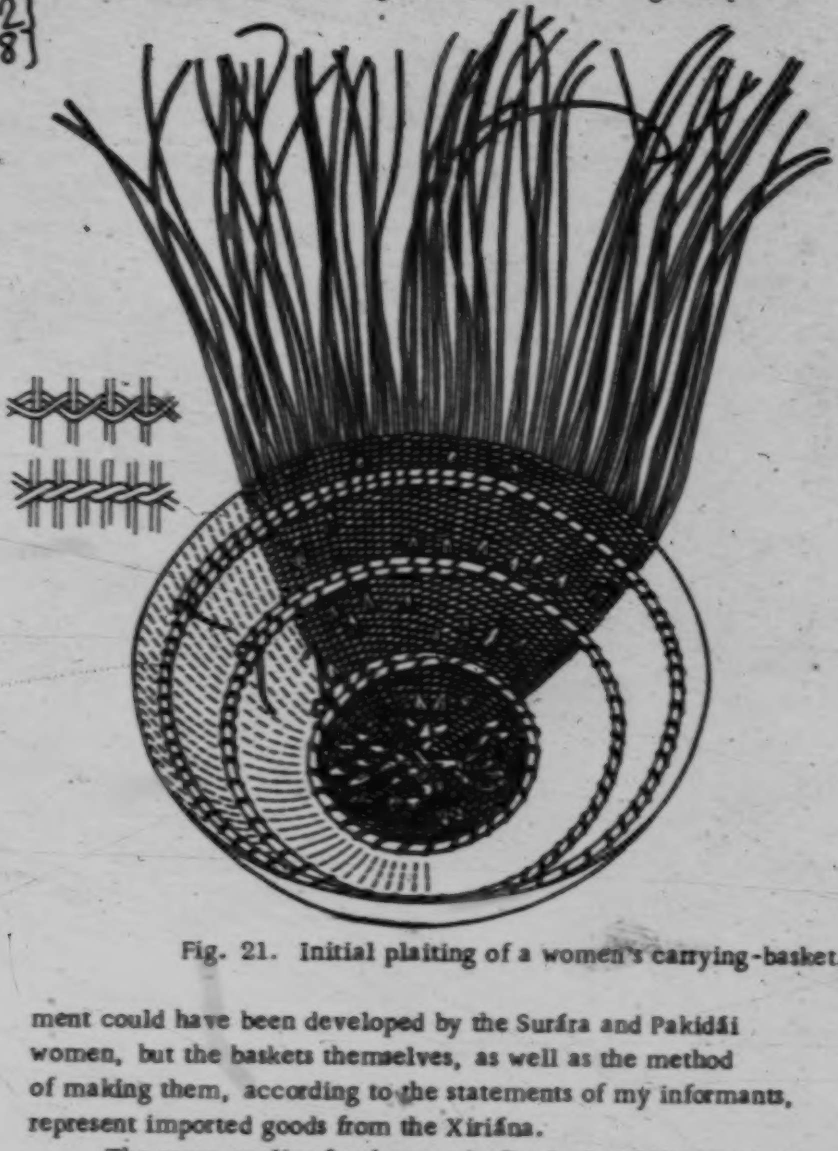

Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriána (281) as well as among the Surára and Pakidái and

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/51 cont./

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281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers --
[531] well. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine
[386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned
[461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

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The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waiká, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

Surára
Pakidái

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

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287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

252 /51 cont./
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285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only
three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig.
22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant
(*Ananas sativus* Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-
[438] 1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the
possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed
out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the
tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow
one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only
small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,
too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably
they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

Surára
Pakidái

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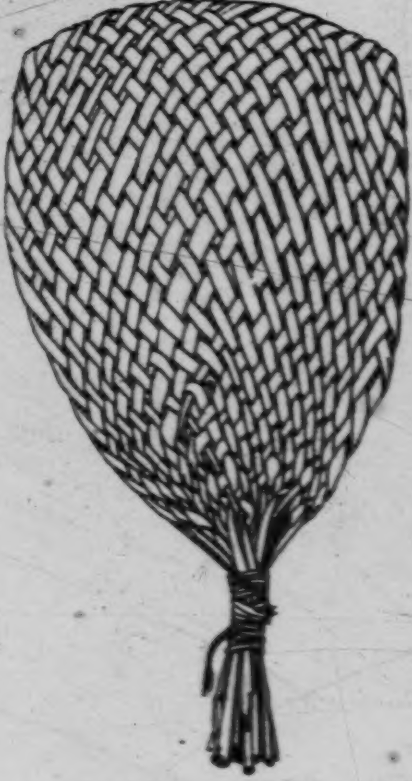

Fig. 22. Plaited fire-fan.

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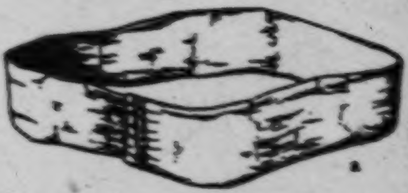

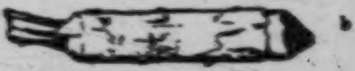

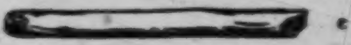

Fig. 23a. Band for carrying children, made of embira tree-bast.

Fig. 23b. Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off.

Fig. 23c. Bast-beater made of embira wood.

Surára
Pakidái

/52 cont./

854
287

9. Band for Carrying Children

[824] The band for carrying children -- *okomakuá* -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (*Daphnopsis* *brasiliensis* Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the [413] women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- *xamotimá* -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- *uarimaxíke* -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- *pekehík* -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a [412] thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little *cutia*-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

854 The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America [171] and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying- [184] band (292). Among the Xiriána Koch-Grünberg does not seem to [714] have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

10. Receptacles

415
824 As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (*Crescentia* *cujete* Lin.) and *Cucurbitaceae* (*Cucurbita* *lagenaria* Lin. and *Cucurbita* *idolatrica* *Lacerda* = *jamaru*), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192] These vessels in general are called -- *horotoká* --, except for those of the *jamaru* fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- *nhapotoíma*.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293), for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

[301] 296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower Part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[237] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáí --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of
cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears
here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

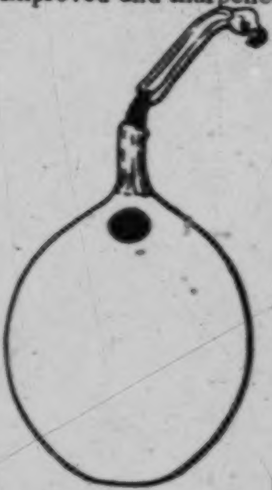

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the
bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

Waica, Karimé, Shiriana

412
184

/54 cont./
Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299),

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

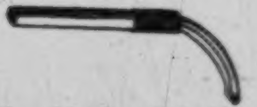

Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

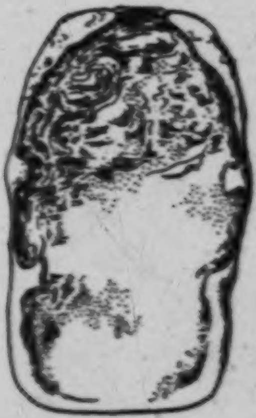

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] [824] and for the Xiriśna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriśna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

Surara Shiriana
Pakidâi
Waica

/54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Gründberg likewise
412 171 mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekuná who lived among the Guinaú on the Merewarí, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekuná who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakí (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionó (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412 184 [237] /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micí -- represents a work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waiká and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantaná and rahaká -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xiriâna (Schirianá) (306). The investigator named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

/55 cont./

412 184 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surâra and Pakidâi, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 462 302 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 171 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 237 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw of the wild pig -- manacoauâ --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 192 [824] For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long -- namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 462 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimâ (see also pp. 112/114).

412 177 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Waica
Shiriana
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 [432] [439] The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their
occasional contacts with the *piaçabeiros* (palm-fiber gatherers)
on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by
the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the
[124] middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors
had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always
412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the
192 ax -- *hanhokomá*. The blade alone is named synonymously,
437 whereas the shaft is called -- *hanhokomáhitohí*. Most probably
174 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according
to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the
412 Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg
174 writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes
114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what
to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481 12. Equipment for Climbing

[139] [192] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the *açaí* (*Euterpe oleracea* Mart.), bacaba (*Oenocarpus distichus* or *Oenocarpus* /56/ *bacaba* Mart.), *buçu* (*Manicaria saccifera* Gaertn.), buriti (*Mauritia vinifera* Mart.), inaja (*Maximiliana regia* Mart.), paxiuba (*Iriartea exorrhiza* Mart.), tucumá palm (*Astrocaryum* sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- *horohoromá* --, which consists of a split liana (*cipó-titica*) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

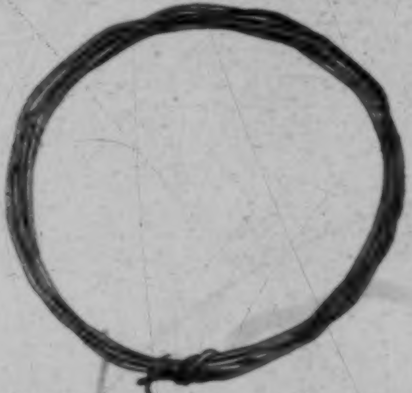

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[197] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the *caboclos* (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

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222
[137] The pupunha palm (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits

[184] in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- *kanaške* -- which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481
222 The apparatus consists of two devices completely alike, which are fastened and used in the following manner: Two sticks, 1.60-1.80 meters long, whose diameter is 12-15 centimeters, are tied to the trunk scissors-like and loosely with lianas. The downward-pointing rear part of these crossed sticks is also wound with lianas. Above this first climbing apparatus a second one is attached in the same manner. The Indian who wishes to climb the pupunha palm now stands on the rear end of the lower "scissors" and pushes the one above it upward a short distance. Then he climbs on the rear end of the upper "scissors" and pulls the lower one after him. Next he shifts back to the lower climbing device and pushes the top one up a bit farther. Thus, by constantly changing his position and pushing one apparatus up and drawing the other one after him, he reaches the crown in 4-5 minutes (Ill. 39). He picks the ripe fruits and lets them down one by one on a liana, where his fellow tribesmen receive them. The descent is the reverse of the ascent.

481
222
174 I venture to doubt that this magnificent technical invention was developed by the Waiká, Surára, or Pakidái, above all because the rest of their material culture is extraordinarily poor. There is nothing to indicate an import, however. Influences of civilization are likewise out of the question, for the caboclo population (planters, rubber /57/ and palm-fiber gatherers) in the Demini-Aracá area is unfamiliar with the technique described; they knock down the pupunha fruits with long poles.

303

13. Preparation of Urucú

The red coloring urucú -- nará -- with which the Indians paint their bodies as well as their implements, is made by the women from the red seeds of the *Bixa orellana* which are found in thorny capsules. The seeds are cooked in a vessel until only a red sediment remains on the bottom, which is shaped into lumps and allowed to dry. With this the Indians are then able to paint themselves at any time; the color must first be moistened, however, with a little water or saliva.

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puscheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.

648 Although the Indians investigated by me have very little
161 contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian
[842] protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is
steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high
[164] infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases,
[165] chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;
[726]

312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

551

2. Names

162 The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among
[160] them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114] 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

	Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemão (316) -- chief and medicine man	42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers. I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koemtemã -- his first wife (from the Pakidã tribe)	24 years
Kanikawõ -- son	8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317)	1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamã -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.)	35 years
Maxinamã -- daughter of Hewemão and his former wife Taímakína, who died in childbirth	9 years

Surára

551
162

	Estimated Age
/57 cont./	
Kurikayawõ -- brother of the chief and later his successor	37 years
Xunamĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe) (She had a son who died as a small child.)	18 years
/58/	
Xomizawõ -- war chief	40 years
Uitimĩ -- his wife (from the Xamatári tribe)	38 years
Moramanamĩ -- daughter (married to the Surára Uaxianauwõ)	18 years
Yaxoíma -- daughter	13 years
Xinarĩ -- his first wife (from the Pakidái tribe, sister of Koeatemĩ)	20 years
Inxinemĩ -- youngest brother of the chief (bachelor)	19 years
Hemahemĩ -- son of the deceased eldest brother of Hewemão	25 years
Hanohomĩ -- warrior	43 years
Unhamĩ -- his wife	24 years
Matuwõ -- son of Hanohomĩ and his first wife, who died. (Matuwõ is married to Maxiuamĩ, the nine-year-old daughter of Chief Hewemão.)	17 years
Unariwõ -- warrior	38 years
Yanauemĩ -- his wife (from the Puscheweterĩ tribe)	35 years
Komitimĩ -- daughter (second wife of the Surára Hemahemĩ)	18 years
Rokoahíma -- daughter	8 years
Cinapemĩ -- mother of Unariwõ	54 years
Toabewõ -- warrior	28 years
Uainomĩ -- his wife (mother of Unhamĩ, see above)	43 years
Raxakewõ -- warrior	32 years
Amarokomĩ -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe) (Two children, a boy and girl, have died.)	24 years
Yanuramĩ -- his second wife (from the Puscheweterĩ tribe)	22 years

Surára

/58 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 Daughter (has no name yet)	3 years
162 Orateã -- warrior	32 years
Posioubemĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 months
Uaxianauwõ -- warrior	24 years
Moramanamĩ -- his wife (daughter of the war chief)	18 years
Rarorauwõ -- warrior	36 years
Tanyakomĩ -- his wife (from the Puscheweterĩ tribe) (Three children, two boys and a girl, died.)	30 years
Rokomĩ -- mother of Rarorauwõ (oldest Surára woman)	63 years
Anyarawõ -- warrior	29 years
Ranomĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xanimĩ, mother of Anyarawõ	47 years
Poxewõ -- warrior	28 years
Riopemĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Hunkawĩ -- warrior	29 years
Xororimĩ -- his wife	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Koroyewõ -- warrior	31 years
Naturoromĩ -- his wife (from the Puscheweterĩ tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Werewõ -- warrior	30 years
Makanamĩ -- his wife (from the Puscheweterĩ tribe)	22 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	1 year
Ikobewõ -- warrior	31 years
Olkoçimĩ -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	28 years
Daughter (has no name yet). The twin brother died.	3 years

Surára
Pakidái

/58 cont./

551
162

	Estimated Age
Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamí -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Haikiamí (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Mauabemí -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromí -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

[161] [123] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89. Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamí -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Poréhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Rusoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xaraíma -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Poréhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Poréhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

Pakidái

/59 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 Kuyaromá -- daughter	19 years
162 Bixewõ -- son	15 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Son (has no name yet). He was born during my visit	1 month
Ironasterí (from the Xiriána tribe) -- wife of Bixewõ	22 years
Yururauwõ -- warrior	28 years
Xekoreimá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	28 years
Tenxoyahibewõ -- son. (He is the only Pakidái boy attending the mission school of the Salesians in Barcelos (Rio Negro) and speaks Portuguese well. A river trader took him there. Now he is ashamed of his fellow tribesmen and was not to be persuaded to give any information about them).	14 years
Mihemehumá -- son	5 years
Son (has no name yet)	1 year
Kuatoxemão -- warrior	33 years
Toreheíma -- his first wife (from the Pusheweterí tribe)	26 years
Xiahomá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	21 years
Daughter of Xiahomá (has no name yet)	2 years
Karemouá -- warrior	29 years
Xitiporimá -- his first wife	26 years
Tokorá -- son	8 years
Nyarimá -- daughter	4 years
Kirixoíma -- his second wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	6 months
Prexemí -- widow (mother of Karemouá)	50 years
Hokotómarimá -- bachelor (brother of Karemouá; died as the result of an accident during my stay)	19 years
Xoronauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years

Surára,
Pakidái

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

619 /60/

3. Political Structure

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas.
[185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.
624 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary;
701 rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the
[622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622
159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/60 cont./

622 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, 159 like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the *roças* (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a *maloka*, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic [224] performances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open *maloka* he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidai

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always
be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women
[482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened,
they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief
484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in
622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the
554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected,
of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he
is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is
able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp.
200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were
killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his
successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemão is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief
Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemão, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemão. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemão.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Puseheweterí and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemão to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemão and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.
[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índos on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemão and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

Surára, Pakidai

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 a) Birth control

862 The number of children among both the Surára and the
[163] Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most.
[165] Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack
of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable
842 extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine
847 men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the *mutum* (*Crax* sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the *pirarucu* (*Osteoglossidae*, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ the father

844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844
846 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

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[622] If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.

[756]
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847 In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared. If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

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851
553 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

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Pakidai

/63 cont. /

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [171] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth frequently.

304 854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 171 854 833 304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

114 /63 cont./
171 Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations
854 probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation
833 for the later sexual functions" (320).
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320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be
304 mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the
854 midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a
woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

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Pakidái

171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

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325a. It is an interesting fact that among the Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are deflowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
000 nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

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Pakidái

854 /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not
514 clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses
[123] its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women
found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief
and carried it with me.

856 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the
593 same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by
their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important
[851] period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

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325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a
553 name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The
776 name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder
[782] intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/64 cont./
553 high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermedi-
776 aries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these
[782] Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose
name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris"
[777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the
child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to
say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and
plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic
114 ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph
191 /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are
also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái.
The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec
word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the
technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = some-
one's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 On the day of the name-giving the children are given a
302 tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved
[412] off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara --
[824] Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in
553 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove
291 up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep.
The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is
done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by
little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under
[834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must
no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good
[292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around
children (see pp. 64ff.).

/65 cont./

000 ch[illegible]ren (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 wh[illegible] is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the
muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls).
Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that
they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure,
is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to
free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has
made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it
is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a
good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the
girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In
play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and
responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help
their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the
care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never
hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults.
Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children.
It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái
child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without
constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred
to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game
of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play
a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond
of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

/65 cont./
524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers
of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They
do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were
reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/
582 g) Marriage
At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not
as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the
little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also
[593] fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march,
[484] she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household
articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in
childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws
which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear
of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always
agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners
who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are
preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however,
the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are
abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and
prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally
marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára.
She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

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/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pãkidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various
587 other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 b) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl,
[302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may
881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur-
304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either
[413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a
[824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty-
[386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the
[147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.
881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

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/66 cont./

000 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
& mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Poréhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

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Pakidái

784 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
[825] emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourishment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
[262] liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
[276] of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[782] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
[276] order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits -- hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers. Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings, hopping, etc.

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/68 cont./

756 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention
184 to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and
P6 their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it
sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and
tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar
171 form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be
184 sure, but mandatory.

834 i) Sex life

833 The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband.
(595) Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together
837 frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy,
[593] however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

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83
159 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauetarí (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumá and her daughter Haikiamá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

Surára
Pakidái

/69 cont./

727 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The [593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

Surára
Pakidái

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common property.
83 Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar purposes.
171 This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs

585 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái.
764 The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

Pakidái

/70 cont./

764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [752] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

[302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut [551] into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his terçado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance 〰〰〰〰 and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

Pakidái

/70 cont./

764 [551] If the deceased had borne, say, the name of an animal, it would have been the duty of the brother or a relative to kill such an animal. For, with the dead person, an animal or plant of the same name must also be killed or be made to die (see pp. 138/139).

While the deceased hung in the crown of the imbauba tree, the laments of his relatives in the maloka continued, and even the children did not lag behind their parents in this respect. At night one or two men were always awake, sometimes also a woman, who, at the same time, sang, wept, and intermittently uttered shrill sounds. The sleep of the other members of the tribe, however, was not disturbed by it.

765 Seventeen days after the death of Hokotómarimá the second part of the burial ceremony began. The male relatives cut down more trees, and, under the imbauba tree in whose crown the dead man hung, they raised a funeral pyre; moreover, they cleared the forest at this spot, so that there was a rather large open area. On the afternoon of the eighteenth day all the Pakidái men then painted themselves with urucú and, under the leadership of Chief Karenauõ, singing loudly and weeping at the same time, they went to the place of the dead. All the women and children remaining behind also wept fervently, even the ones who were not related to the deceased. The /71/ men carried bows and arrows in their hands; some of them also carried snuff-powder and the tube for blowing it in. The brother, moreover, had the weapons and tools of the deceased, as well as bowls made out of the jamaru fruit -- horotó.

When the procession reached the imbauba tree, two kinsmen climbed up once more and carefully lowered the wooden frame, which was received by the other warriors and placed on the pyre in such a way that the head of the deceased was turned toward the rising moon. The dead man, however, was only a skeleton. The flesh had decayed and fallen through the slats to the ground where the vultures, ants, and other animals had devoured it. The brother put his weapons and tools on the wooden frame, so that they would be available to Hokotómarimá in the realm of the dead. Several pieces of meat, bananas, some manioc flour, and the full calabash of a palm drink were to serve as food along the way.

Pakidái

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled
with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire
765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses,
787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur-
276 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames
that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the
hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey
[782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of
supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in
the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each
other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally
reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of
the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howl-
ing, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre.
They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result
of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another
world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think
[774] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of
[775] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had
begun, and the *hekurá* paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night
had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in
its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting
for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased
[123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine,
and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart.
Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too,
was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church
nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the
one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

Pakidái

/71 cont./
765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[821] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the
[775] moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering.
Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and
made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a
circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother
and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones
from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels
by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied
into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of
the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding.
Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one
in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the
men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the
ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again
return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[266] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two
jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof
behi~~nd his hea~~rth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival
in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead,
mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp. 231 ff.).
From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the
maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

776 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they
have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the
other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three
nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particu-
larly solemn.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [775] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 888 266 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[171] 333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888 [171]

> 333. (cont.)
> p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, 888 766 be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766 [684] [784] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766 858 774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764 171 For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

[184] 334. Among the Waiká /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765 171 175 The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764 765 171 175 Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oũicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái

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764 /73 cont./
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[775]

and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

5. War -- níanyu --

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The Yanonâmi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

Surára, Pakidai

619 /74 cont./
648 721 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by informants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriána. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the proposed raid.
[302] All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

[835] 340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

[171] 341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

[171] 342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./

[171] 343 (cont.)
[302] Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the
[276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all
[727] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

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727 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiriâna and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waikâ on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waikâ men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriâna maloka as captives. The head of the Waikâ chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriâna and left standing in front of their community house for several days
727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hőrio and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chacó, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men
[276] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá
[782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

/74 cont./

6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial

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Two or three times a year a Xiriána chief and 18-20 warriors of this tribe come to the Surára as well as to the Pakidái, in order to collect tribute from their satellites (see also pp. 13 and 19). This visit is always carried out /75/ according to a regular protocol. First the chiefs squat down opposite each other, place the right hand on the left shoulder of the other, and hold the left hand in front of the mouth. They remain in this position for about two hours and, singing, exchange their news (345). The warriors of the Xiriána and Surára or Pakidái stand around in a circle and listen, their faces immobile. All the women and children remain lying in their hammocks during the ceremonial, or they sit with anxious faces by their hearths. When the greeting is ended, the Surára or the Pakidái chief makes a sign, whereupon his men run off and fetch knives, axes, pots, etc., and also bananas and pupunha fruits, which they put down in front of the Xiriána chief. The latter picks up the objects and distributes them to his warriors, one after the other. When each is richly laden, they leave the maloka with measured step and disappear into the forest. The Xiriána chief is now the only one left behind. For him, however, particularly valuable objects must be brought. Above all, it is now the duty of the Surára or Pakidái chief to offer precious things of his own, perhaps a woven hammock which was given him by civilized people, a large pot, a bush knife, or a particularly beautiful chain of glass beads. Along with these, he usually sets down a basket of bananas and pupunha fruits. When the Xiriána chief, finally satisfied, nods his head, the Surára or Pakidái at last feel relieved. There is now a concluding dialogue sung by the two chiefs, whereupon the Xiriána chief rises and, heavily loaded for his part, strides toward the forest where his warriors are

345. I, too, was greeted in this fashion by the Surára chief as well as by the Pakidái chief.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./

619 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surâra and Pakidâi
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114] 346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178 At present the Surâra and Pakidâi are in a state of transition
241 from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
622 been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roca (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174] 347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surâra and Pakidâi were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 241 177 [829] /75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- lará -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norá -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. [231] Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xáma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajá. The

[593] [462] 349. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184] 350. Among the Waiká, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

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/76 cont./ The

224 [262] meat of all the animals mentioned is greatly prized. Smaller rodents, however, are regarded as decided delicacies: paca (Cuniculus paca L.) -- amutá -- and cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomã --, which usually are killed with dogs or driven into a hole in the ground, as well as the armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.) -- obó. The latter is killed in the following way: When the Indian has discovered an inhabitated armadillo burrow, he examines it to see whether the animal is occupying it. If this is the case, he quickly fetches dry leaves and blocks the entrance. Then he kindles a fire with his fire apparatus, which he always carries on the quiver (see p. 53), sets fire to the leaves, and, with a palm leaf, fans the smoke into the burrow. This forces the animal to come out after a few minutes, whereupon the hunter is able to kill it [262] with an arrow or beat it to death with a stick (351). With somewhat less relish these Indians eat the meat of the capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) and the various monkey species, such as, for example, the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.) -- íhró --, cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.) -- uixá --, cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.) -- paxó --, and macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus) -- makurutamão. A great deal of skill, however, is required for monkey hunting in particular, because these animals leap from limb to limb in the crowns of tall trees and swing from one treetop to another by means of lianas. -- Feline species (352) are shot

[171]

351. Caspar describes the same method for the Tuparí Indians (Caspar, 1953, p. 96 and Pl. 3).

352. Spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.) -- íhrá --, black jaguar (Panthera onca L.) -- hukumarí --, puma (Felis concolor) -- uaquearimã --, maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó.

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/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is
262 eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- pereíma -- (Surára word) -- pelêma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agree-
[751] able taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
[825] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuá -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the peremá -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even
[868] boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauri --, jacamim (Psophia crepítans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

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223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracana --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [753] [237] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

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/77 cont./

226 c) Fishing

Fishing plays a very subordinate part, and since olden times it has been carried on, with bow and arrow, only from the river-bank. Fishing by means of poison or landing nets, weirs, and [179] similar implements is unknown. Recently, however, these Indians have now and then used fishhooks of metal (354), which were given them by rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, as well as by 226 262 the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini. Nevertheless, this has not substantially increased their interest in fishing, for fish simply are not among their favorite foods. Moreover, only smaller species may be eaten (355), because all the large ones have the evil breath of the river within them and thus cause sickness and other misfortune. Thus, they, of course, abhor the *pirarucu* (*Osteoglossidae*), over three meters long and the largest fresh-water fish, the dried meat of which represents practically the basic diet of the *caboclo* population (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), and the delicious meat of the large water-turtles is also rejected by them for this reason.

354. They fasten these to a line of cotton or Bromelia fibers.

355. *Aracu* (*Leporinus copelandi* Steind.), *piranha* (*Pygocentrus* sp. and *Serrasalmus* sp.), *surubim* (*Platystoma* sp.), *jandiá* (*Sciluridae* sp.), *mandi* (*Rhamdia* sp.), *curimatã* (*Prochilodus* sp.), *pescada* (*Gadus* sp.), *dourado* (*Salminus brevidens*), *tambaquí* (*Characinidae* sp.), *mandubi* (*Auchenipteridae* sp.), *anujá* (*Trachycoristes* sp.), *cuiú-cuiú* (*Oxidorus niger* Vall.), etc.

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Waica

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226 184 Among the Waikĩ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1956b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222 d) Gathering

[462] Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are the most important: açaĩ (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaiĩma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomakẽ --, buçu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetosĩk --, buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexĩ --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoĩ --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahĩ -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamĩ -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaĩmo.

[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- miĩmiçibĩ --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

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/78 cont./

222 climb, such as the piaçaba (*Attalea funifera* Mart. and *Leopoldinia piassaba* Wal.) -- *tanbarí* -- and *ubim* (*Geonoma* sp.) -- *komixí* --, are gathered by men and women in the same manner.

[462] A division of labor between the sexes may be observed in the gathering of the fruits of the inga trees (*Inga* sp.) -- *kepó* -- growing on the banks of rivers and brooks. In this case, however, they do not take the trouble to climb the tall, broad-limbed trees. They are felled by the men, and then the women and children strip off the long, dark-green, hard-shelled pods, the beans of which are embedded in a white, spongy pulp as sweet as sugar. This is sucked out and then spat out along with the seed. Men, women, and children relish it even while they are working, but the bulk of the pods are tied together with lianas and carried into the *maloka* by the women, where the pulp is again sucked out with great satisfaction. -- The fruits of the wild caju tree (*Anacardium* sp.) -- *uitó* -- (361) are harvested in the same way, that is, by felling the trees. Of this, however, the Surára and Pakidái eat only the longish, dark-red, shiny receptacle, which is extraordinarily juicy and is especially prized as pleasantly refreshing. The kidney-shaped, greenish-black kernel, on the other hand, is not eaten. -- The fruits of the chestnut, *castanha-do-pará* (362) (*Bertholletia excelsa* H.B.K.) -- *hokoó* --, are very popular. During the rainy season, when the *ouriços* (ball-shaped husks with a hard shell, which weigh more than one kilogram and contain between 10-30 chestnuts) fall from the tall trees because of gusts of wind, the entire tribe often travels to the chestnut forests on the lower Aracá or the middle Demini, in order to reap a rich harvest here, in which again both sexes take part. The *ouriços*, wherever they are found, are cut open with a stone or, if available, with a *terçado* (large bush-knife), and the chestnuts are poured into the

361. The corresponding Waiká name is "*wido*" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150).

362. We know them as Pará nuts.

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/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroá --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184]
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[114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waiká, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumató -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia), which are called uapú by the Surára and kurupú by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waiká have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[36]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

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/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] [412] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the men use the tercados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

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367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

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/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that
remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks,
stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying
[361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center
of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter com-
pletely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka
[622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarí --, which sur-
rounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief
among the individual families, so that they may plant here
banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, cará, cotton,
[462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184] 368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since
[134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin
humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical
rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132] 369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond
36 the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several
166 times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or
more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha
palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted
also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or
50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested,
even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

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/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

244 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

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/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (*Musa paradisiaca normalis;* the regional *caboclo* population calls it *pacovinha*) -- *kuratá* -- (372).

> [174] 372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 245 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were given me for the other eight varieties (374):

> [184] 373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "*kurá:tana*," "*kura:tana´*," or "*kuratanâ*" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriána designation, namely, "*kalatá:ke*," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). [174] This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waiká, Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p. 249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

> [184] 374. The Waiká, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153):

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Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional *caboclo* population:
pakatarimã	*pacovão*
kuratá pauximí	*inajá*
nakaximí	*São Tomé roxa*
rokojá	*São Tomé branca*
rokomã	*banana maçã* (?)
parauá	*caité*
roárenvökâkö	*banana bajé*
xiahíma	*Banana govêrno* (375)

[126] 375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824] With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. [462] The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

[184] 376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) -- *komunamá* -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). [481] The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- *miímiçibá* -- and can therefore be climbed only

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Pakidái

/81 cont./

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[481]
with a specially constructed apparatus (see p. 120), bears very narrow, pinnate leaves that are curly at the tips and are always gently swaying in the wind. They stand around the community house like sentinels and seem to be perpetually nodding benevolently and reassuringly to the inhabitants of the large, open maloka (Ill. 6). Their fruits -- maraxá -- (377), 50-80 of which form a cluster, are noteworthy. They can be harvested only once a year, between September-April, but each palm has at least three, and sometimes four clusters, that is to say, approximately 200-300 fruits. At first they look yellow, but after ripening they take on a bright red color. In contrast to other palm fruits, they are characterized by especially abundant meat.

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As to the question of whether or not the pupunha fruit has seeds, there are various opinions. Zerries did not find any seedless ones (378). On the other hand, I saw fruits with seeds and without. This observation is confirmed by statements by Sauer, who writes: "In manv cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertile seeds..." /cited in English/ (379). And even Alexander von Humboldt (380) and Vinci (381)

377. The name among the Waiká is very similar -- "lasha" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149).

378. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

379. Sauer, 1950 p. 525.

380. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 281.

381. Vinci, 1956 pp. 370-375.

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245 137 114 /81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

[174] [184] 382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244 The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitaríma -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning 249 243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higalí" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukís -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184] 386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

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249 Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389) (Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- nará -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

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8. Preparation of Food

[462] The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

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387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

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/82 cont./

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> 390. (cont.)
> of the men is found among most Brazilian tribes: "*Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças são assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens* /among the primitive peoples of Brazil, big game is, in general, roasted or smoked by men/" (Baldus, 1950, p. 7).

252 and most common consists of impaling a piece of meat on a pointed stick, sticking the latter into the ground obliquely toward the fire, and turning it from time to time, so that all sides are equally exposed to the heat. There are also square [171] roasting racks (Portuguese *moquêm*) with grates of wooden rods which, in the same shape or in triangular form, are familiar to almost all primitive peoples of tropical South America (391).

> 391. These roasting racks are made in the following way: Four sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground so that a square is formed, cross rods are placed in the forks, and over them are laid sticks which are fastened with lianas.

The men use the roasting rack mostly if the meat of large animals, such as tapirs and wild pigs, is to be prepared, because several pieces can be roasted at once. Now and then, however, I also saw a whole monkey lying on the grate. So that no fat will be lost during roasting, the skin is not removed beforehand, but only when one sits down to eat. The entrails, however, are removed from the animals before roasting or boiling. They are not discarded, however, but wrapped in palm leaves and steamed in the hot ashes, to be consumed afterwards with great relish. When the roasting rack is used, an even fire; not too hot, is kept burning under it day and night. Before festivals, when it is desired to preserve exceptionally large quantities of meat,

Surára
Pakidái

/82 cont./

252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

[177] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole *cutia*, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

[438] 392. These come from the Xiriána.

[439] 393. These are trade articles of the *caboclos* (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

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394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surára and Pakidái. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

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[171]

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

252 [415] raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
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395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

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Taioba, carã, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont. /

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412
[177]
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[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamó.

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397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surâra I found three tube presses and among the Pakidâi five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399). 273

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surâra how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

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Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single [123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

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This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes, and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

Surára
Pakidái

263 /84 cont./
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[175]
almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish açaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

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Pakidái

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the *baçu* *buriti*, *curauá*, piaçaba, and *ubim* palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [171] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among 273 184 the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

Surára
Pakidai

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usu-
262 ally only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes.
I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat
[824] supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women
have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from
[415] the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe
many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is
[267] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On
the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

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10. Tame Animals

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our [439] fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171] 413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten
in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered
in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
[773] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not
seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
231 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never
succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
231 good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
[114] perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has
always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the
European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so
different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference,
how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian
camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring
dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was
true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on
the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but
among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as
though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

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414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

[171] 416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

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231 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/ [184] dogs" (418). Among the Waiká, Zerries, strangely enough, did not come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

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174 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

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[177] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231]
[171] 423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they [552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also mention [825] that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a member of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters [262] and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

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424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

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The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and [171] parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

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Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

276

11. Luxuries

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] [824] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly [249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant roças or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, however, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is 276 171 114 also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432) agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 276 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthuiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

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434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihená -- (435), as

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[776]
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435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurá -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahá -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]
436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]
437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

Surára
Pakidái

/89 cont./

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437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

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[463]
[415]
Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriãna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

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After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surãra, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

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Pakidái

/89 cont./

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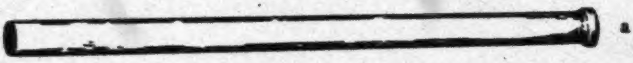
[184]

Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the composition of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, [114] seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

[415]



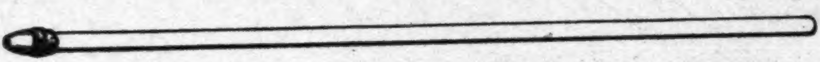


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

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438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára
Pakidái

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and clean-
ing the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for
babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor
[147] do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I
was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the
[145] Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly
white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men
and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they
gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the
same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water.
A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but
[481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and
teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions.
177 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on
515 the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post
on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been
acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly chil-
dren and young men and women, like to lather themselves when
they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing
their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap
[123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were
perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

Surara
Pakidái

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old
[825] [776] or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

Surára
Pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821 776 According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- *Perimbó* -- and from *Poré*, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, *Poré* and *Perimbó* constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanonámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821 775 The moon, a large, open, circular *maloka* located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under *Poré*. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára *maloka* (see pp. 25/27).

[764] [774] But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- *uwexík* -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- *petanuáhi* -- that must wander about restlessly,

Surára
Pakidái

/91 cont./

821 775 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. Th[illegible] only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), [illegible] believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk [775] like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

[192] 445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

Surára,
Pakidái

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians
776 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras
774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant
[782] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized
[192]

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

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446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

Surára
Pakidai

821 /92 cont./

776 774 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the *serras* as dwelling places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against *Poré* and *Perimbó*. In contrast to the *serras*, the *hekurá* are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the *serras* wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the *serras* and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the *serras* and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, *Poré* has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

774 The *hekurá* are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain *serras* that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of *Poré* and *Perimbó*. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may 774 55 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

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447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 551 /92 cont./
and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes 764 proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. 551 If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, 776 an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death 775 be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

787 216 /93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

776 184 [114] If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

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448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

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821 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450).

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450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

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773 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

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184 /93 cont./
773 (see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

773 As a further parallel, the leg-birth
184 should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

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171 455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

Surara
Pakidái
Waica

/93 cont./

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455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

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the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidâi) (see p. 247) or several children (Waikâ)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

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/94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waikâ one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waikâ who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidâi communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,
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459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

/94 cont./

776 area and cites corresponding parallels from Aruak /Arawak tribes
174 of northwestern Brazil as well as from Karaiben /Carib/ of
[171] Guiana (460), which are augmented by Haekel (461). The last-

460. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

461. Haekel, 1959, p. 41.

named scholar then poses the question: "Did the Waika, prior to this foreign influence, lack the conception of a Supreme Being?" (462)

462. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

He assumes that the idea of a Supreme Deity in the sense of the Surára and Pakidái related to them might have been familiar to them, since in the ethnic groups named the moon, or the lord of the moon, occasionally comes down to earth, and, as a further link, he mentions the idea of a heavenly paradise of the
[171] souls (463). Then Haekel points out that the Surára and Pakidái

463. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

as well as the Waiká, in a religious-mythological respect, show remarkable similarity with the following Karaiben /Carib/ tribes (464), though it should be noted that some link the Supreme

464. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

Being with the moon and others with the sun (465): Kachuyana

465. Haekel, 1959, p. 35.

(Kashuiéna /Cashuena/) (even the name of the Supreme Being is very similar in this case, Purá) (466) (467), Barama (468),

466. Kruse, 1955, pp. 404 ff.

467. Polykrates, 1957, pp. 138 ff.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/94 cont./

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468. Gillin, 1936, ~~pp~~p. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

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"The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waiká or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

Surara
Pakidái

/94 cont./

776 174 171 114 moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however,

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sâliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanonâmi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

name which sounds very similar to Porê and "Purâ." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sâliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sâliva (479).

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

776 171 But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanonâmi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purâ (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aborê" and "Wowtâh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480).

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/95 cont./

776 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the námes Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowtíh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

774 171 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

774 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

773 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/95 cont./

773 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Poré transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p.250).

774 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

774 775 184 [164] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

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486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

[171] 489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 /95 cont./

775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to
come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,
[769] too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the
[266] dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs,
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

Surára
Pakidái

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

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[753]

a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waiká (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

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493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- *nonexí* --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. *Nonexí*, however, is also the specific name of the *gavião-real*.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "*noneshi*" or "*nonish*," for the Waiká. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed [239] his last. The down feathers of the *gavião-real* are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

Surara
Pakidai

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

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[776]

> 496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

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> 497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

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757 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy, supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[171]

> 498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

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498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164 During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none
ooo was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

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[752]
499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotómarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,
755 first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the
757 younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá,
177 the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

Surára

/97 cont./

755 the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after [757] his healing efforts had again brought no success.

[123] Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, [177] I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurã) for Xunamĩ:

Xunamĩ, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, [593] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led [757] her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [757] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucũ, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexĩ -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurã (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexĩ" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

Surára

/98 cont./

755 beat quite hard upon the basket with their sticks, in order to [535] give the sickness the finishing blow. All the movements were executed in a dance rhythm, two steps forward and one back, during which the "hekurá" uninterruptedly sang the words ho-he-hi-ha-ík, ho-he-hi-ha-ík, while "nonexí" uttered shrill sounds in between. At first the "battle" was enacted at some distance from the sick woman, but during the "argument" they drew nearer to her. "Nonexí" now danced alone at the head end of Xunamí, and the two "hekurá" stroked the body of the sick woman and sucked at it. Then they vomited, and one of them suddenly took a stone out of his mouth, and the other, a piece of wood. With shrill cries they threw these objects away, while "nonexí," who was still at the head end of the patient, crouched down and started to whimper loudly. With the stone and the piece of wood the sickness was to be hurled back to the Waiká. Then the sham battle between "nonexí" and the "hekurá" began anew, frequently interrupted by the sucking and stroking of the body of the sick woman, who suffered everything indifferently. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff-powder into each other's noses. For four hours the treatment went on, but there was no improvement to be seen in Xunamí; rather, she grew worse. The sick woman was then set on the ground in front of her hammock, and two other men, this time only personified hekurá, continued the treatment in snuff-powder intoxication, in that they danced around the woman, sang, and screamed loudly. In between, they stroked Xunamí's body and sucked out little stones, which they spat upon, licked, and then rubbed against their own bodies before they hurled them away with shrill cries. Now and then they also struck out with hands and feet and threatened an invisible foe. Occasionally they spat and stepped on the sputum with gestures of repugnance. Then the patient was again placed in her hammock and doused with cold water.

As a result of the high fever and long fasting, Xunamí was already very weak. But during the coming night a very great rekurá (magic cure; see also p. 211) was to be performed, and, to be sure, by Chief Hewemão and eight helpers. (The chief

/98 cont./

755 intervenes only if the day-cures of individual men have been unsuccessful.) Immediately after darkness set in, the men assembled, eight of whom, including the chief, had painted their faces and bodies with red serpentine lines, while the ninth was blackened with soot. A little to one side of the sick woman they formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the center, upon which there was snuff-powder. They blew considerable amounts of this into each other's noses and then danced around in a circle, singing loudly and shouting. This, as the chief later explained to me, was to establish contact with the hekurã. These preparations lasted about half an hour. Then, dancing and singing, they drew nearer to the sick woman. This time she stood in front of her hammock, held by her husband, who had slipped his arms under hers and folded them over her chest, for she was no longer able to stand alone. Shouting loudly, the men danced around her several times and then leaped into the inner circle of the large, open maloka, where, in great rage, they hurled away invisible objects. Then they spat upon them and trampled furiously on these imaginary objects, at the same time uttering loud threats against the Waikã. After that they danced and leaped in apparent disorder back and forth between the sick woman, whose body they stroked a few times at each encounter, and the inner court of the maloka, during which they now and then shouted loudly, executed wild leaps, and at the same time turned in a circle. Whenever they came outside the dwelling part, they again tossed away invisible objects. This dancing, leaping, and shouting, the motions of /99/ casting away, the bending of the knees, the pointing forward and upward with the hands seemed to be utter confusion, and the noise that went with it was indescribable. After that the chief and his brother danced alone for about 40 minutes around the sick woman, who meanwhile was being held by another man. They blew in her direction and sucked at her body, at the same time massaging it. By turns they leaped a few meters backward and threw away imaginary objects. -- Meanwhile the eight medicine-man helpers had moved away a bit from the hearth. The man blackened with soot lay on the ground, symbolically portraying the evil

/99 cont./

755 nonexí, while the other seven, who, exactly like the chief and his brother, identified themselves with the hekurá, danced and leaped around him. They kicked at him with their feet, uttered invectives, threatened him with their fists, and beat him. Suddenly, "nonexí" tried to flee, but the other men quickly caught up with him and threw the "evil spirit of sickness" to the ground again. They tapped his body, sucked at it, and spat over him. In fact, they even beat him symbolically with sticks. Then a stone weighing two kilograms was placed on the abdomen of "nonexí," was picked up again after a short time, and was hurled away. At that the fiendish noise suddenly ceased. Chief Hewemão squatted before the sick woman, completely absorbed within himself. Behind him crouched his brother Kurikayawõ, who stroked his body and head and lightly tapped his back. Complete silence prevailed; only the moaning of the chief and of the sick woman was to be heard, frequently interrupted by the loud sighs of the former. The other seven "hekurá" meanwhile squatted silently around the prostrate "nonexí." The sick woman now sat between the legs of the man who had hitherto supported her. After the chief had concentrated, which lasted about 30 minutes, all the participants in the rekurá formed a circle around Xunamí. The chief crouched directly opposite her, face to face with her, and commenced to sing loudly in a wonderful baritone voice, while the other eight men, with the exception of the "nonexí," joined in chorus. It was a part song and so melodious that it sounded to me like an organ. Now and then the medicine-man helpers stood up and walked, singing, around the patient, while the chief stroked her body from head to foot, massaged her, tapped her, and sucked at her. Each time he would spit out imaginary objects, whereupon the other men always broke out in loud cries of "oh" and "ah." This choral singing and the manipulations accompanying it lasted for about three hours. Then Hewemão sucked especially vigorously on Xunamí's body, while his hands kept stroking her downwards. All at once there was a stone weighing about one kilogram in his right hand, and three small stones, two pieces of wood, and two fingernails in his left. He had sucked all these

Suráˈra

/99 cont./

755 objects out of her body and now hurled them away with gestures of disgust, amid the loud shouts of "oh" and "ah" by his helpers. During this sucking and stroking, the chorus of all the "hekurá" standing in a circle swelled to tremendous power and subsided only after Hewemão slowly withdrew, for his work was ended for the time being. He was bathed in sweat and, completely exhausted, lay down in his hammock, where his two wives provided him with a nourishing meal consisting of roasted tapir meat, manioc flat-cakes, and a bacaba drink.

The sick woman was not released, however, even after this five-hour cure. From 11:00 to 1:00 at night the husband and the medicine-man helpers continued it in the manner described above. The main thing was the choral singing and the dancing in step, with occasional sitting, stroking the sick woman, sucking, threatening hand movements toward an invisible opponent, spitting, etc. added. At 1:00 two more men dropped out, including the husband. The latter now lifted his wife up and laid her in her /100/ hammock, then he crouched beside her and tenderly supported her head. For about another two hours the medicine-man helpers went on singing and "curing" and after that one alone until around 5:00. Only then could the sick woman surrender herself for a short time to a well-earned rest (501). Many other members of the tribe watched this magic performance, above all women, who wept softly during it. They crouched in a semicircle at a somewhat greater distance and watched the proceedings with rapt attention, but only as long as the chief was acting. When he finished his work, the spectators gradually disappeared.

Unfortunately, all efforts remained unsuccessful in this case, and Hewemão confessed to me the next day, when the sick woman

[761]

501. If patients have become very much worse, they are kept awake as much as possible to prevent their life from escaping. For if they fall asleep, death might take possession of them.

Surára

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikã medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
177 should give Xunamí penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemão even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xanimá:

Xanimá, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[757] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurá" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexí."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemão and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurá, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

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502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

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755 cries in the most diverse tones, they rushed toward the sick
woman. They were like a wild horde, for the participants
screamed at the top of their voices, bent their knees, leaped
into the air, and shook their fists at an invisible foe. After a
renewed hissing sound by Hewemão, they formed a circle
around the sick woman lying in her hammock, and each man
placed both hands on the shoulders of the one standing in front
[535] of him. With swaying dance steps, two forward and one back,
during which they sang ho-he-hi-ha-ík, ho-he-hi-ha-ík, they
[533] walked around the patient for some time. Then Hewemão hissed
755 for the third time, whereupon the song ceased. Then the chief
struck up a melodious song which his helpers underscored with
533 humming. Meanwhile, with swaying step, they continued to
535 move around the sick woman, their hands always on the
shoulders of the man in front as before. After 15 minutes
Hewemão hissed again, and then they laid their hands crossed
upon the shoulders of the one walking ahead. At the same time
all the men joined in the song /101/ of the chief, and again they
sang in parts. This choral singing, together with the dancing
in step, lasted another 20 minutes. Then the chief and his
brother Kurikayawõ placed themselves opposite each other at
the head end of the patient and struck up an alternate song.
At the foot end squatted two helpers who also faced each other
and hummed softly. A short distance behind the head end two
more helpers danced back and forth with faces turned toward
each other; they were also humming, and occasionally they
uttered bird-like sounds; they frequently ran their fingers through
their hair and then always passed them downward over their seats.
755 Meanwhile the other three men, two painted red, the one black-
colored, that is to say, two "hekurá" and "nonexí," were carrying
on a sham battle beyond the foot end of Xanimá, in a manner
similar to that already described on page 216. In the mean-
time the daughter-in-law of the sick woman had raised her up
and had seated herself behind her in the hammock, at the same
time supporting the old woman with both arms. Then when
the sham combat was ended, and the bad "nonexí" lay on the

Surára

/101 cont./

755 ground and the two "hekurã" crouched beside him as "victors,"
a part song by all the participants began once more. At the
same time the chief stroked the head and then the body of the
sick woman. Then he started to suck at her, first at her head,
then on the chest, on the stomach, and on the thighs. Then he
uttered shrill cries and vomited. At this moment the singing
ceased and all the helpers uttered loud cries of "ah" and "oh."
Thereupon Hewemão hurled invisible objects to one side, which
was always accompanied by ah and oh shouts of the other men.
Then a chorus was struck up anew. This part of the magic per-
formances lasted more than two hours. After the chief had
sucked stones and pieces of wood out of the body of the sick
woman and hurled them away amid animated cries of ah and
oh by the helpers, however, the volume of the singing increased
and was followed by shrill cries which ended in a general
humming. -- After that there was complete silence. The men
sat down in a circle around Xanimá, and each one leaned his
head against his knees, for all were visibly exhausted, especially
the chief and his brother. The wives of the latter, however,
had seated themselves behind them and stroked their heads and
shoulders and gently tapped their backs in order to give the
weary ones new strength, for during the curing process they had
completely spent themselves. The sick woman, too, could
now lie down again. She had her eyes closed and one could see
how exhausted she was from sitting up so long. After the noise
that had been going on, the stillness had a very strange effect.
But after only 15 minutes one of the medicine-man helpers arose;
he began dancing in a circle around the sick woman, during
which he softly sang. Meanwhile, however, clouds had passed
before the moon and a heavy rain set in. Hewemão then decided
[821] to break off the session and continue it at dawn. "For with a
darkened sky," he said, "without the co-operation of the moon,
it would be impossible to free the woman from her sickness."
He left behind with the moaning Xanimá, shaken with fever
chills, two helpers who crouched to the right and left of her
head end and hummed softly, in order that, as Hewemão told

/101 cont./

755 me, contact with the *hekurá* would not be broken. Toward 4:30, the rain had stopped in the meantime, the nine men once more gathered around the sick woman and continued the cure for another two hours in the manner described above. By forenoon the fever was gone and the woman was on the way to recovery. She and every other member of the tribe were convinced that Hewemão had hurled the evil spirit of sickness, *nonexí*, back to the Waiká. Even Hewemão himself firmly believes that in the snuff-powder intoxication and with the help of the *hekurá* and the moon he is able to ward off sickness and accidents and to cast them out.

/102/ The two above-described magic performances for warding off two different diseases show a certain external pattern. Each cure begins with the taking of snuff-powder, which causes the chief and his helpers to fall into a state of ecstasy and to identify themselves with the *hekurá*. There follows the invocation of the *hekurá*, which is reinforced by wild gestures, then the sham struggle between two or more "*hekurá*" and the spirit of sickness, "*nonexí*." After that, very definite texts, melodies, and dances are used for each sickness. Unforgettable [533] for me are the choral part-songs which contain the requests to the *hekurá* and the *serras*, who, in turn, relay them to *Poré/Perimbó* (see pp. 197 ff.) (503).

[126] 503. I deeply regret that I was unable to record these songs on a sound track. Unfortunately, the tape recorder which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had sent by courier to the German Consulate in São Paulo before the start of my expedition was damaged by an employee there. Without permission, he had unpacked it and tinkered with it. Thus, I can only hope that on a subsequent expedition I shall have an opportunity to record these songs.

Surára
Pakidai

/102 cont./

755 I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures,
(123) and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-
tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

[123] 504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waiká had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

[431] 505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-
756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were
114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all
whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 756 114 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

769

3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The
[114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases,
/103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of
769 251 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

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506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

[192] 508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

Surára
Pakidái

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flatcakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [296] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

> 509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

[534]
> 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[296] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surára
Pakidái

769 535 [533] /103 cont./Then they sat down in a circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearths added some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

[622] [123] Suddenly Chief Hewemão, who was sleeping in his hammock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexí (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexí" were constantly in

Surára
pakidái

/104 cont./

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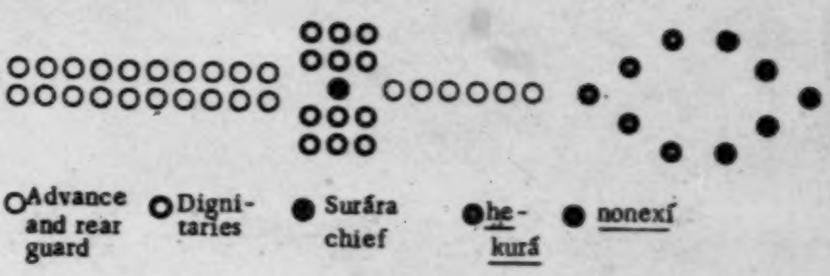

Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-[622] powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [782] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769 788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769 461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were [302] [301] magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the *gavião-real* (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed
to drive the *nonexí* out of the *maloka* and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers
(Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly
solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the *maloka* courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small *jamaru* vessels (*jamaru* = *Cucurbita idolatrica* Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty *jamaru* vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small *jamaru* vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger *jamaru* vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Poréhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them
[522] stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

[751] 512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Poréhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Poréhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.
[533] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard
[782] several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance
[625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624]
[805]

513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its
266 climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ,
and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the
pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru
vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other
[533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief
started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song
was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup
pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out
a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to
the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of
Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by
all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who
drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the
bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

[123] 514. Hewemão also offered my servant
and me a full calabash each, along
with the war chiefs. When we had drunk
them, he slapped our backs appreciatively
and said that we were now true Sarára.

[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
[262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the
refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased,
the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened
their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured
the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo con-
tainers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

Surára
Pakidái

/107 cont./

769 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men,
276 youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the
[535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also
769 danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic
526 dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport -- petapóanhamũ. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable
strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically
represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other,
who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí
(see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed them-
selves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and maniac flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered
from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in con-
nection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives
were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

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184 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká, which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

Surára,
Pakidái
Waica

/108 cont./

769 festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which
182 characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of
184 deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive
789 magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of
526 course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently
[266] cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where
the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably, however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former
114 times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt
769 Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called
526 my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men
during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

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517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

114 /108 cont./ According To Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,
526 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
184 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
177 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)
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523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/108 cont./

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and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

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Moreover,
/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). According to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

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Pakidái

/109 cont./

769 266 171 Ralegh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has

530. Ralegh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

114 769 266 171 According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intratribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to missapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

Surára
Pakidai

114 /109 cont./
769 /The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110
266 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the
171 foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

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Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapáanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

754
825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihená -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224 b) Hunting magic:

789 The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the
[782] hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests
[302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines
[825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is
[751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When [982] he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the hekurá to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the hekurá will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 171 114 Among many other tribes of South America there are the same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocovi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

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537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

Surára
Pakidái

224 171 114 /111 cont./
Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the *maloka* himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832 [824] c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a *curauá*-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the *tajá* (*Colocasia antiquorum* and *Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott) -- *h[illegible]rẽ* -- (see p. 83). If the

Surára
Pakidái

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789
821 d) Rain magic:

Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

[171] 548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

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Pakidái

/112 cont./

789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
[821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
[302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine
lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toôtotó -- with a thick liana
789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[776] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to
induce Porê to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first
only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war.
But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also
take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[776] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female
sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all
the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of
their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming
two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun --
who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejó.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Porê and Perimbó

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see
pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man
helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp.
211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank
Porê and Perimbó (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the
customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp.
199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the
imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

782 (824) (237) with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers of the *gavião-real* (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.). The structure -- *akuanohé* --, which women and girls are not permitted to see, gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued down-feathers of the *gavião-real*. By order of the chief, several warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

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(114) On May 21, 1956, in his *maloka* on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird *kaukaumã*, a *japim* (*Cacicus cela* L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Poréhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ *maloka* on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little *japim* is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

Surára
Pakidái

/113 cont./

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7. Types of Sports

[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahẽ --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526 171 821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamú, the fight

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549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

Surára
Pakidái

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

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IX. Myths and Legends

[115] The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemão:

The Creation of the Yanonámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. [843] Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[601] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

Suráras
Pakidái

/113 cont./

539 chief delight was to kill small birds with his little bow and arrow. But one night, for fun, /114/ he aimed at the moon and shot off his arrow. At once an eclipse of the moon set in. Blood dripped down and poured like a flood over the entire earth (554). From this blood came all the Yanonámi, that is,

[784] [821] 554. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái children are strictly forbidden to this day to shoot their arrows in the direction of the moon.

the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Xiriána, Karauaterí, W[illegible]á, etc. (see p. 12).

The Origin of Fire

539
372 The virgin forest with its wealth of plants and fruits was already created, and human beings, as well as all kinds of animals were living upon the earth. Only fire was still lacking. Besides their vegetable food, the human inhabitants were therefore able to eat only raw meat, and at night they shivered in their hammocks. They knew, however, that the cayman (jacaretinga) had fire in its mouth. Despite all entreaties, it would not give up any of it. So people resorted to a ruse. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the cayman and make jokes. At first the cayman was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could not suppress his laughter any longer, whereupon fire shot out of his opened mouth. The people were very happy about it and thanked the hummingbird extravagantly.

Surára

/114 cont./

The Origin of the Banana

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In olden times the Surára men were only hunters, and the women gathered the fruits of the jungle. They were unacquainted as yet with any kind of agriculture. One morning, however, when the Surára man Horonamû had arisen especially early and stepped out in front of the maloka, he saw to his astonishment peculiar large plants full of fruits. Immediately he wanted to pick one, but the voice of Poré, the lord of the moon, who, along with the latter, represents the supreme divine power (see p. 197), caused him to stiffen. Poré, however, in a very friendly way, said that he had grown these plants for the Surára and that their name was kuratá. He then ordered him to inform all the members of the tribe that the kuratá should be cultivated, for with it they would never have to suffer hunger again and would not have to rely solely on hunting luck. When Horonamû wanted to express his gratitude, Poré had already disappeared.

The First Pupunha Palms

The Surára were already acquainted with the banana tree, and this was the first plant that they cultivated. One night a japim (Cacicus celà L.) came flying and, on orders from Poré, planted pupunha palms (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) between the banana trees. Early in the morning it wakened the Surára with a particularly loud song, and when they stepped outside their maloka in astonishment, it told them that this palm was called komunamá and its fruits -- araxá -- were good for eating as well as for making a refreshing drink.

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The Creation of the Jibóia-vermelha

Once upon a time there lived the Surára Karemoná, who was very quarrelsome by nature. Every day he mistreated his two wives and quarreled with the other men. He never submitted to the orders of the chief and even tried to undermine the

/114 cont./

539 discipline of the tribe. Since all admonitions were of no avail, he was banished from the community.

Karemoná painted his body with urucú and left the *maloka*. After he had wandered about in the forest for a few hours, he lay down wearily on the ground and fell asleep. While he was asleep *Poré* transformed him into the *jibóia-vermelha* (*Epicrates cenchris*) -- *oatá* -- because of his insubordination.

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The Creation of the Black Jaguar

The Surára were already acquainted with clearing by burning and cultivated banana trees and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in the forest clearing. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other /*115*/ side of the *roça* (forest clearing) and there turned into a black jaguar.

The Creation of the Tapir

A *cuatá* monkey fell from a tall tree and was unable to climb up again. After several unsuccessful attempts, it turned into a tapir.

The Creation of Wild Pigs

A band of *cuxiú* monkeys fell from a tall tree. After futile attempts at climbing up again they were transformed into wild pigs.

The Creation of the Ant Bear

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A Surára man who had raped his mother-in-law was turned into an ant bear by *Poré* as punishment. Since then there has been in-law avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of the ant bear may not be eaten by members of the tribe.

Surára
Pakidái

/115 cont./

X. Character and Way of Thinking

157 In spite of insignificant contacts with the caboclos (rubber
[177] and palm-fiber gatherers, planters, and the personnel of the
Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini), the
Surára and Pakidái have preserved throughout the character of
unspoiled primitive peoples who have not yet been alienated
from such traditional Indian virtues as hospitality, moderation,
123 and honesty. I discovered this even on the occasion of my first
157 contact with them. When I, together with my servant Mateus,
met nine Surára warriors on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the
upper Rio Aracá, they gazed in wonder at our boat, the outboard
motor, and the numerous gifts and trade articles in the form of
knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc., but they did not touch
anything. They were also immediately willing to take us to
their maloka, about 70 kilometers away, and carried the trunks,
boxes and bags weighing 50-60 kilograms (555) (556), which, to
their minds, contained tremendous treasures. During the strenuous
three-day march, a definite feeling of harmony prevailed; there
was constant laughing and jesting. When the Indians heard that
Mateus called me "doutor" /doctor/, they burst into particularly
hearty laughter and told us that totorí (jabuti /land turtle/) was a
fitting name for me. The name remained with me until my departure and was brilliantly appropriate for me, for, in comparison with the free Forest Indians, anyone from civilization presents a very clumsy picture in the forest regions.

These nine warriors could easily have murdered us and departed alone with the gifts and trade articles. But not for a moment was I aware of any danger, for there could not have been more gracious or thoughtful companions. How great their honesty was I should like to document with the following example: During the march on the impassable Indian paths in the eternal

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555. Becher, 1957a, p. 115.

556. Becher, 1958, p. 153.

Surára
Pakidái

/115 cont./

123 twilight of the forest, a packet of cigarettes fell out of my
157 trousers pocket. Who can describe my astonishment when in
the evening at a halting place an Indian brought back to me the
packet with the contents intact. Naturally, I gave the honest
finder the cigarettes and a knife in addition.

Similarly, during my months-long stay with the two tribes
I always had all the trunks, boxes, and bags standing open, and
yet nothing was ever stolen from me. Even the barter of ethnographic
objects always took place, usually under the supervision
of the chiefs, in perfect peace and tranquilly. When I presented
knives, pots, glass beads, and other objects to men, women,
or children, /116/ they always took them with impassive faces,
[192] but without expressing gratitude. There is no word for "thanks"
in their language, any more than there is in the other Indian
languages. In their shining eyes, however, I could read that
they were pleased.

152 Before the departure of a member of the family there are
157 never any sentimental scenes between relatives, let alone endearments,
and even at the return one can see aroused emotion
only in the shining eyes.

123 In the presence of strangers, women and girls in particular
are at first timid and grave, but when one has gained their
confidence, they are gay and unrestrained. I very quickly gained
the affection of the children and with it also that of their parents
and the other adults. One's behavior, of course, plays an important
part in relations with the Indians. If one approaches the
Surára and Pakidái in a friendly and courteous manner, one can
accomplish anything with them. On the other hand, if one expressed
himself disapprovingly with regard to their customs and
habits, scolded them, or beat a child, he would be inviting their
antagonism. Thus, a visit to the malokas of these Indians is not
to be recommended to nervous people, for one does not find any
rest throughout the entire day, and it is often lacking at night
as well. There were always men, women, and children standing
or sitting around me. In the beginning, they tirelessly pronounced
the words of their language for me, but they never laughed at
me if I repeated them with the wrong accent. At first they even

Surára
Pakidai

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversation above all else, and even at night they go on talking for
[576] hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment
593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other
members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest.
Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very
energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry
with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not
go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so
that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word.
[576] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in
hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be
578 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes
regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest
vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment
they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens.
Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in
the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In
this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men.
Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In
most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-
888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people
neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171] 559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderiamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a famíiia, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

829 [157] The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent
000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

123 when I Told Them about Cities
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888 [171] 559. (cont.) no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" (P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

[171] 560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna
000 and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

[114] 561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

123 Their imitative
153 talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

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171 562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

153
171

562. (cont.)
'to see with our eyes,' they do not lag behind us in penmanship and copying" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

563. The experiences of two more investigators should also be cited. First Crevaux, whose following description concerns the Oyampí: "I enjoy reproducing the figures and arabesques with which the people of the village are covered. They are very similar to the carvings in the rock Timéri of the Maroni. It then gives me the idea of cutting a piece of charcoal and giving it to the captain Jean-Louis and asking him to draw in my notebook, which he calls caréta, whereas he calls the drawings that he makes coussiouar. Jean-Louis does not know how to draw very well. On the other hand, young Yami soon makes for me, no longer with charcoal, but with a pencil, drawings of a man, a dog, a tiger, finally all the animals and devils of the country.

"Another Indian reproduces all sorts of arabesques which he is in the habit of painting with genipap.

"Having given some needles to my draftsmen, the question is who will ask me for a pencil in order to blacken the paper. I see that these savages who are accused of being absolutely ignorant of the fine arts draw everything with extraordinary facility;..." /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, pp. 76/77). -- No less interesting is the statement by Karl von den

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

153 563. (cont.)
171 Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú,
in which he declares that these Indians
knew how to use the pencil very well
and drew beautiful motifs in his note-
book, although he was the first white man
they had seen (Karl von den Steinen,
1886, p. 212).

153 Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid com-
[179] prehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these
Indians very rarely come in contact with *caboclos*, and in most
[191] cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather
large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú,
159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gõmez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly
perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed
unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I
was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the
Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159 564. Three years ago the little boy
734 suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen
752 by an upset vessel containing boiling tree
resin. Since the chief had given up hope
that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888] him given the deathblow. The custom of
this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái,
decrees that all old and seriously ill
persons who are no longer able to take
part in the general migrations must be
killed (see pp. 153/154). The grand-
mother of the little boy, who is an
orphan took him secretly one night to
the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 153 [177] Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it. 153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[171]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/

XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahôn

2 -- porokabö

3 -- prukatabö.

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- prukâ -- and very much -- prukâ, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauê. One hand is called mahôn imêk, and both hands, porokabõ imêk. The fingers -- imixôk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

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804 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805
821 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehâu -- (Surára), -- bemututuorelí -- (Pakidâi) and ends with the setting of the sun -- peimaujaâuk -- (Surára), -- betamtíte -- (Pakidâi). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohê by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- peniboínxi -- (Surára), -- benibeúx -- (Pakidâi), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarí -- (Pakidâi). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamháruk, the morning benahâ, the evening -- petamahuwetehaúk --, and night -- petamatíti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiú -- and the rainy season -- peuônk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbõ --, there are also designations for new moon -- istoríbe -- and full moon -- perimbôabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauâbe -- (Surára), -- hubâri -- (Pakidâi). The eclipse of the sun is called xomokã by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars -- purimâ -- and big stars -- purimâ breu.

000 /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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Pakidái

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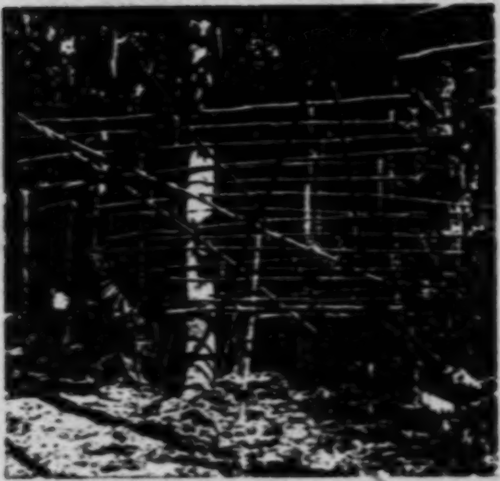

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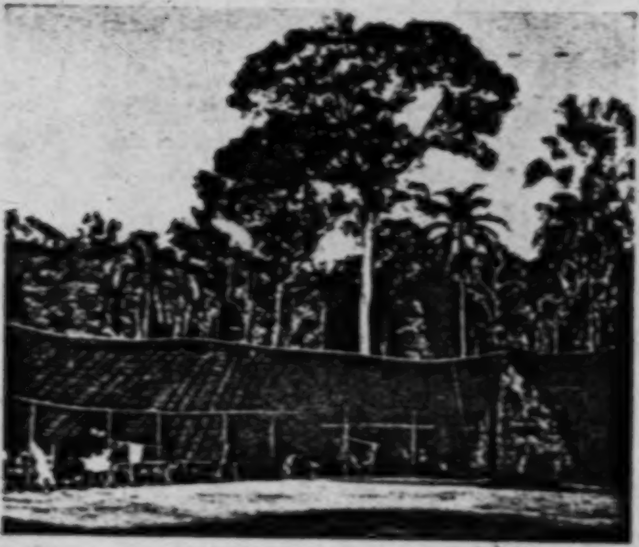

Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

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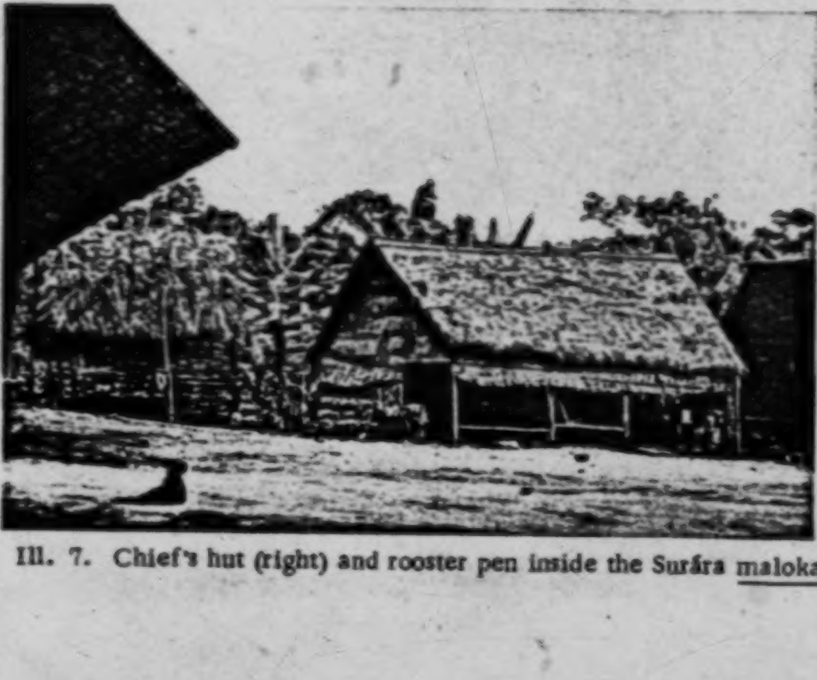

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

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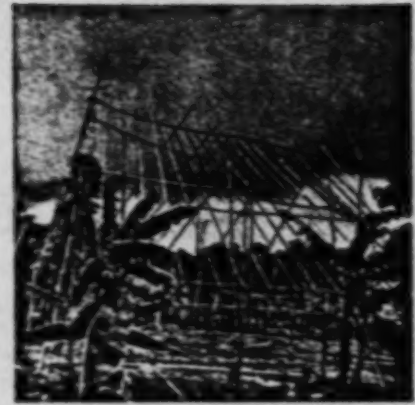

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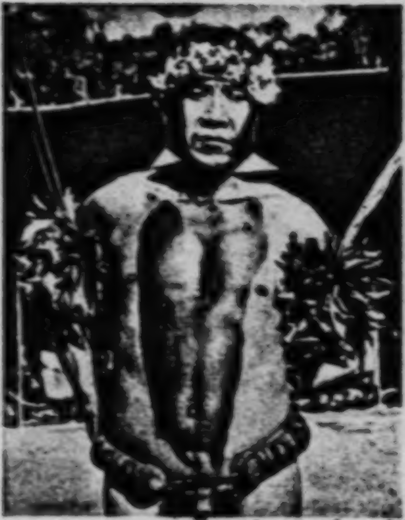
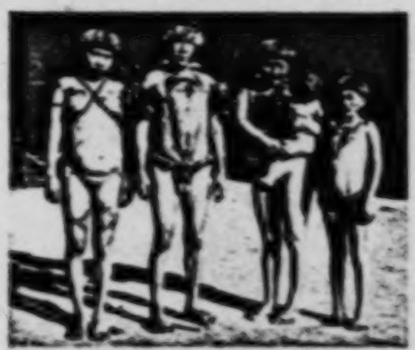


Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



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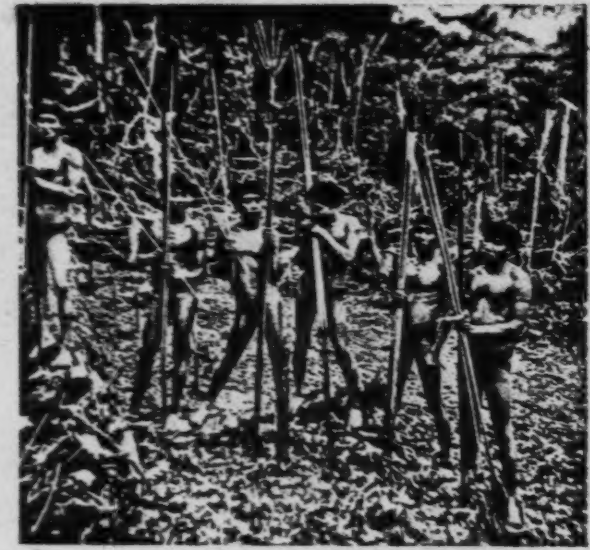

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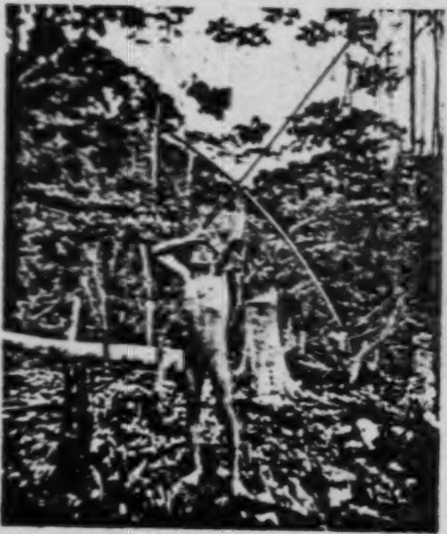

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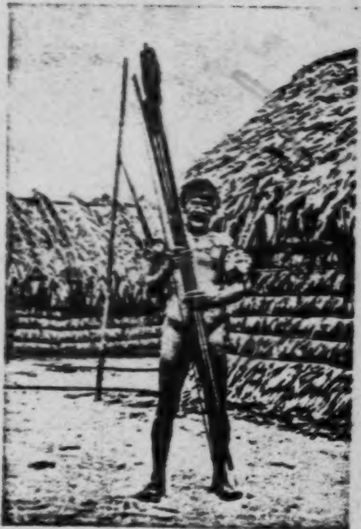
Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow



Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
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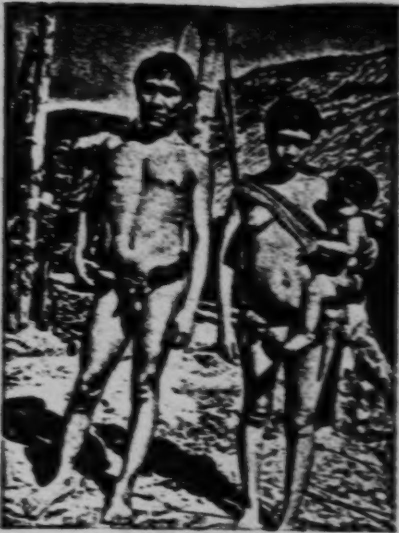

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Puseheweterí and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

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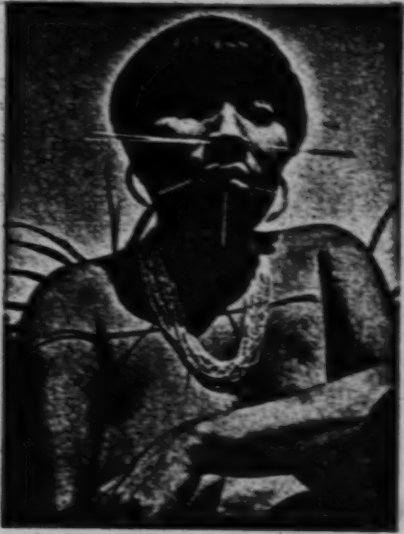

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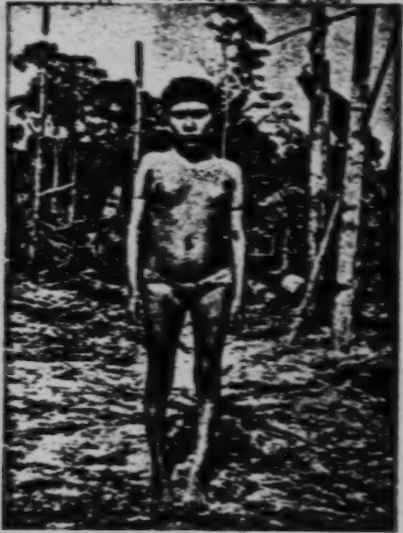
Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasterí, with deforming facial adornment



Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauaterí. (She is a captive of the Surára)

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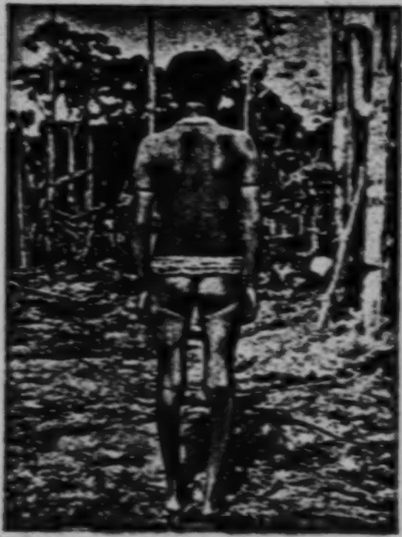

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

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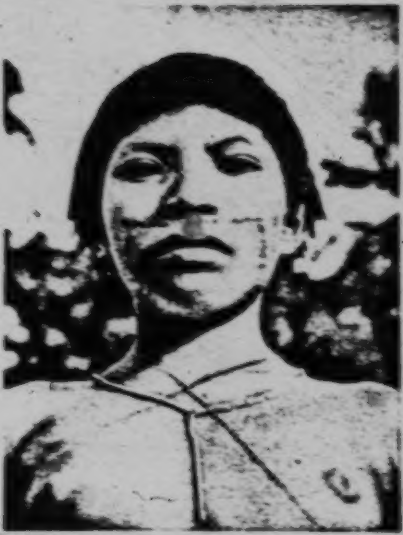

Ill: 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

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Cinapemí

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Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

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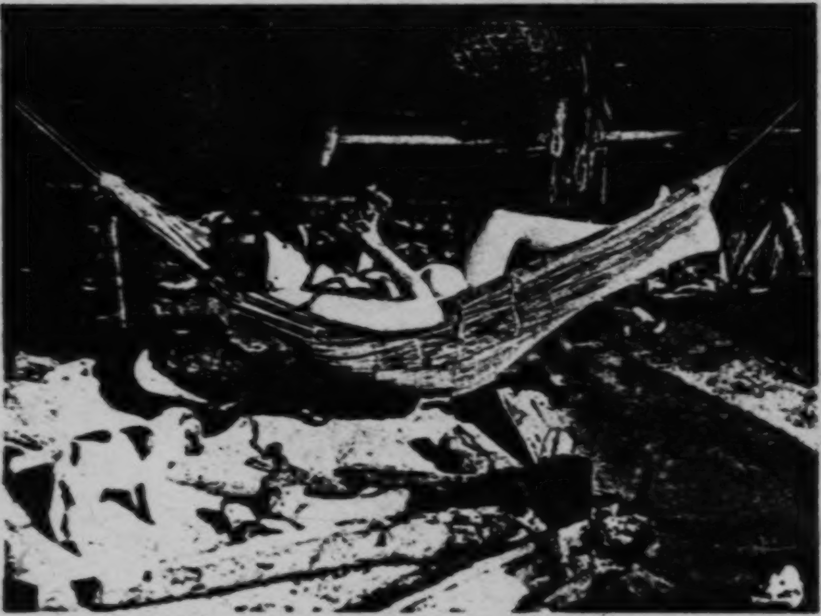

Ill. 29. Pakidâi woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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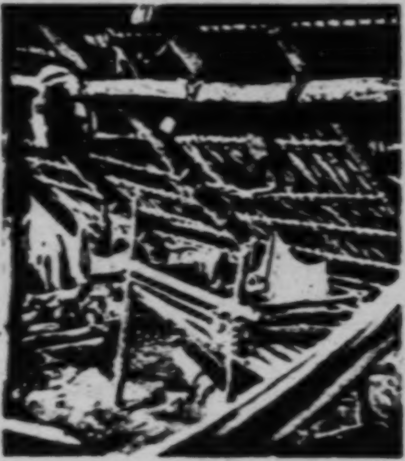
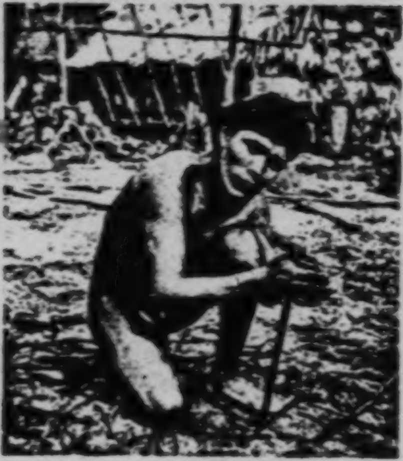


Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")



Ill. 31. Pakidâi Indian making fire

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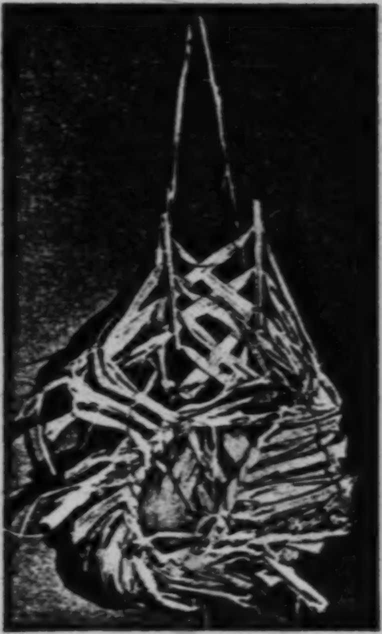
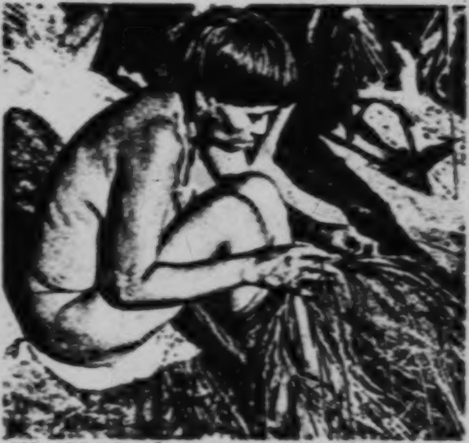


Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

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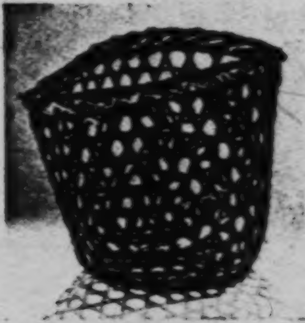

Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curauá plant

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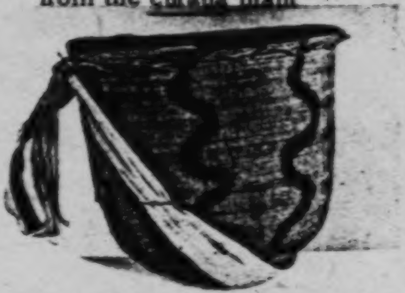

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

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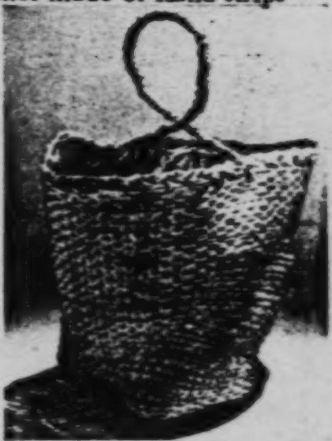

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

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Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

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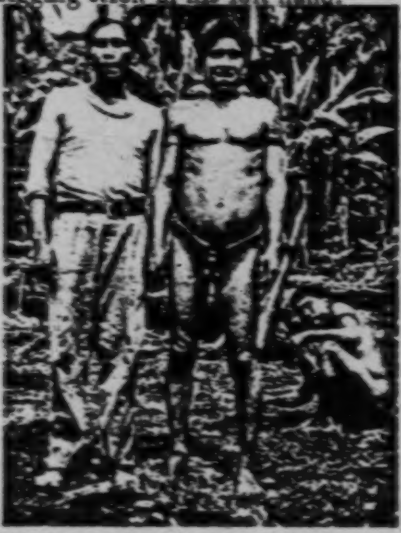
Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus



Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

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Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

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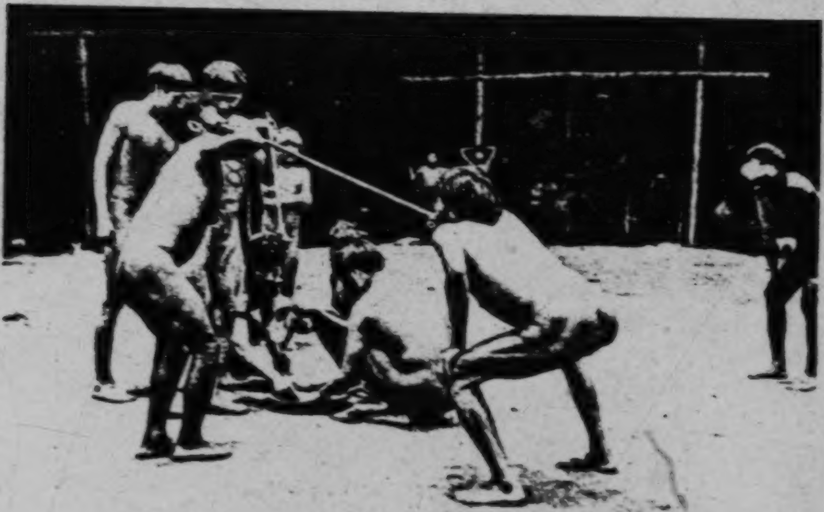

Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

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Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

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Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

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Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

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/For information on the wide variety of edible food items collected by the Yanoama, see category 222./

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/For information on "windscreens" and "windscreen" construction utilized as one form of house construction among the Surára and Pakidái, see category 342./

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/For information on the initiation and training of young Surára and Pakidái men in matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing of the sick and tribal traditions, prior to their obtaining full adult status in the society, see category 884./

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/Information on the hekurá, gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals, has been filed in category 774./

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/For ceremonies associated with the annual feast of the dead, see category 769./